

CATALOGUE & HAND-BOOK
OF THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS
IN THE
INDIAN MUSEUM

PART I

by
JOHN ANDERSON M.D., EDIN

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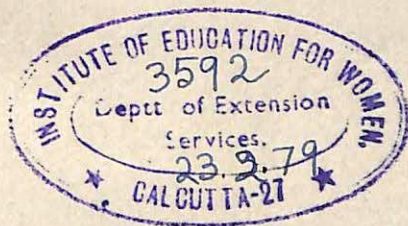
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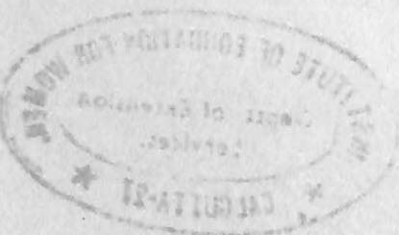
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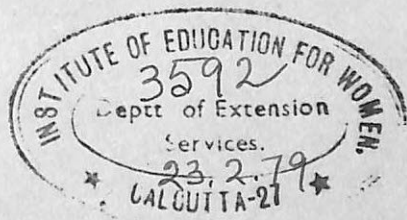
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CATALOGUE AND HAND-BOOK
OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS
IN THE
INDIAN MUSEUM.

BY
JOHN ANDERSON, M.D., EDIN.
Superintendent of the Indian Museum;
Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Medical College;
Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh;
Fellow of the Linnean Society;
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Fellow of Calcutta University;
Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland;
Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland;
Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Corresponding Member of the Anthropological
and Ethnological Society of Italy; &c., &c.

PART I.
Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries.



CALCUTTA :
PRINTED BY THE ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES.
1883.

PREFACE.

Some explanation, I feel, is due from me regarding the circumstances that have led me to attempt the compilation of a Catalogue of, and Hand-book to, the Antiquities in this Museum, in view of the fact that my pursuits have been more those of a Zoologist than of an Antiquarian.

After the first part of the Catalogue of the Mammalia was completed, it was found necessary that I should vacate the only available quarters in the Museum building that would admit of my continuing Zoological work, as the Government had provided the funds necessary for furnishing the Gallery I then occupied with cases for exhibition purposes. It so happened that at that time, I was deputed, by the Trustees of the Museum, to explore the Zoology of the Mergui Archipelago, and it was believed that suitable working rooms would be ready by my return, in five or six months. This, however, was unfortunately not the case, and I, therefore, was not in a position to proceed with Zoological work.

Having prepared a manuscript Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum, immediately prior to my departure to Europe, in 1879, I resolved, on my return from Mergui, to revise and amplify it, and, if possible, to publish a Catalogue and Hand-

book that would give some explanation, however imperfect, of the various Archæological objects exhibited in the Museum.

I am well aware that the work I have accomplished is perhaps somewhat crude, but if it proves in any way useful in contributing to awaken more general interest in the collections of this department of the Museum, it will have fulfilled the end for which it has been compiled.

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Major General Cunningham, the Director-General of the Archæological Survey, whose various works and reports I have largely made use of in the following pages, more especially in describing the Bharhut Stūpa, as all the readings and translations of the inscriptions on that monument, given in this Hand-book, are derived from his work entitled "The Stūpa of Bharhut," with the exception of a few amended readings given by Dr. Hoernle.

The division of the collections into four great Galleries, the Asoka, Indo-Scythian, Gupta, and Mahomedan with Inscriptions, is due to a suggestion originally made by General Cunningham. The Asoka Gallery contains sculptures, all probably of greater antiquity than the first century of the Christian era, whilst those exhibited in the Indo-Scythian Gallery extend over the first two or three centuries of that era. On the other hand, the Indian architectural remains in the Gupta Gallery are, in all likelihood, more recent than the third century A.D. It has been necessary, however, owing to the want of space, to display certain objects in this Gallery that should have been

kept apart by themselves, for example, the *finds* from the cromlechs of Southern India and the extensive collection of stone implements, both of which claim a much higher antiquity than any of the architectural remains contained in the Asoka Gallery.

Mr. Beglar, General Cunningham's assistant, has also, on various occasions, given me the benefit of his knowledge and experience, more particularly in the first arrangement of the antiquities into two groups—Buddhist and Brahmanical—as the collections, when they were transferred from the premises of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to the Museum building, were deposited there, during my absence from India, without any attempt having been made to keep the one series separate from the other.

My thanks are also due to Dr. Mitra for the translation of a few inscriptions that had not been previously read.

Since the foundation of the Indian Museum, in 1866, the archæological collections of the Asiatic Society, which constituted the nucleus of this department of the Museum, have been much enriched by the deeply interesting sculptures from Bharhut, by the Gāndhāra bas-reliefs, the Buddha Gayā discoveries of the Archæological Survey, and by the casts from the rock-cut and other temples of Orissa.

In Appendix A will be found a notice by Professor Beal of certain human figures that occur on the bas-reliefs of Bodhi trees on the Bharhut railing¹, while Appendix B contains an interesting

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 49.

note¹ by the same author, explanatory of the ethnic characters of the figures on the Sanchi cast, S I of this Catalogue. To the latter appendix, I have also added Mr. Simpson's valuable contribution² entitled "The Identification of the Sculptured Tope at Sanchi."

Since writing the foregoing, I have received a copy of the XVth Volume of the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, and I notice the volume because the account given in it of two statues, from Patna, in the Indian Museum, differs materially from that to be found in page 151 of this Hand-book. The statement, however, which I have made regarding the identification of these statues, is correct and was written in 1879. Both of these statues, and which, as I have stated in the text, were catalogued specimens of the Asiatic Society's collection, were found by me, in 1865, placed against the wall of the Society's house, to the left of the portico, where there was no foliage of any kind. I had them at that time removed and placed in the building, where they remained until 1876, when they were transferred to the new premises of the Indian Museum; so that General Cunningham has been under a misapprehension when he speaks of their "discovery" in the grounds of the Asiatic Society's Museum at Calcutta, "where they had been hidden amongst the foliage for the last forty years."

The account which he gives of the discovery of these two statues by Dr. Tytler outside the city of

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV, New Series, p. 39.

² Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV, New Series, p. 332, plate.

Patna, was communicated by me to him and to Mr. Beglar; and how I obtained the information will be ascertained from the text.

General Cunningham seems disposed to identify a broken figure standing at Agam Kūa with the third figure that Dr. Robert Tytler observed in the field near Patna, from which the two statues sent to the Asiatic Society were dug, but as Mr. J. Tytler remarked in his letter that the third image was not removed and that afterwards he could not learn the spot where it was, there is no evidence that the statue at Agam Kūa is the third image that was left in the field near Patna by Dr. Tytler.

The inscriptions that occur on the back of each of the statues was first observed by myself, and I directed General Cunningham's attention to them as they had previously been overlooked.

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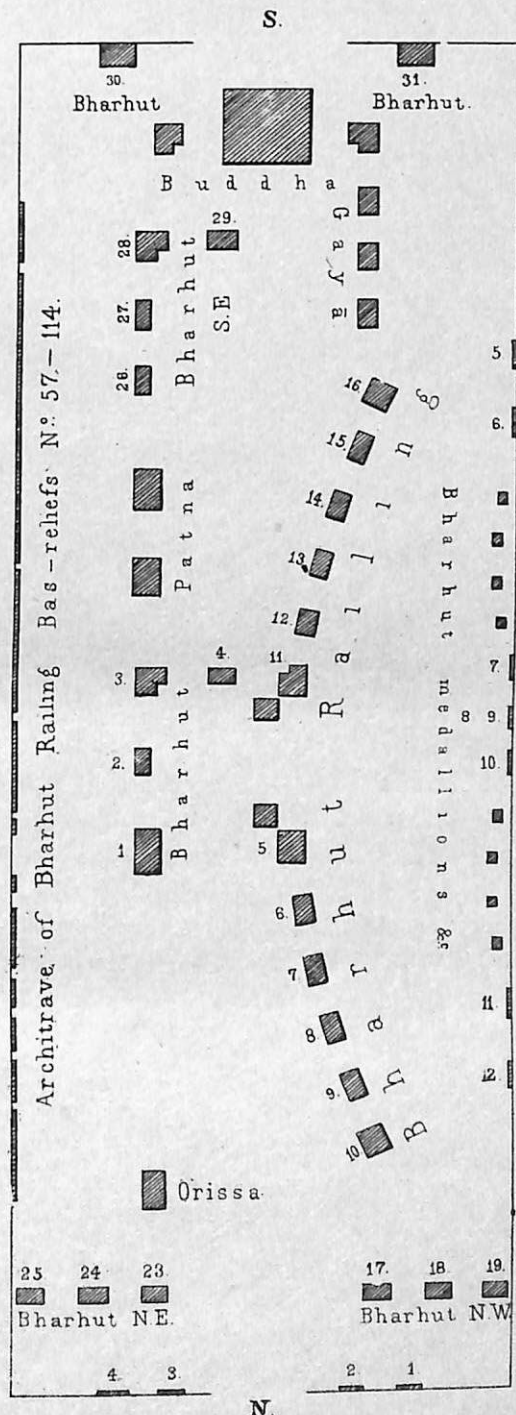
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I N D I A N M U S E U M

East.

Architrave of Bharhut Railing Bas-reliefs N^o 57.-114.



A S O K A G A L L E R Y

Scale 12 Feet=1 Inch

KEY TO THE BHARHUT STŪPA.

The gateway is first described. The pillars and cross-bars are all numbered consecutively, (*see Plan*,) beginning from the first pillar of the screen, of which there are four pillars.

The numbers are then continued from the most southerly pillar of the northern section of the railing at the side of the gateway; and in this section there are six pillars. The description passes around these pillars and cross-bars from south to north, returning on their opposite sides, easterly, from north to south.

The visitor should then proceed to the southern section of the railing, at the side of the gateway, along which the description is continued from north to south, returning on the opposite side, easterly, from south to north.

After this, the group of pillars, cross-bars, &c., to the right of the entrance to the gallery, and in the north-west corner of the room, are next described, and after them the corresponding series on the opposite side of the entrance.

From this, the visitor is then directed to the last group of pillars situated towards the south-east corner of the room. The description of these begins with the easterly face of the most northern pillar proceeding from north to south, east to west, and then returning on the opposite faces.

The description of the scenes on the architrave begins at the northerly extremity of the western face of the architrave of the screen, and proceeds from north to south and east to west. It is then continued from the northern end of the northern section of the railing and proceeds along its whole extent in both sections from north to south. Then follows the description of the fragments of the architrave let into the eastern wall of the gallery, the description beginning at the northern end.

Succeeding this, the two pillars on the southern wall of the gallery are then described, and are followed by an account of the medallions in the western wall of the gallery, the description beginning with the most southerly medallion.

The objects lying lose on the platforms are then described; those on the most northerly being the first to which attention is directed.

The architrave, the pillars, the cross-bars and the medallions are indicated on the margin of the text by the letters A, P, C-B and M respectively.

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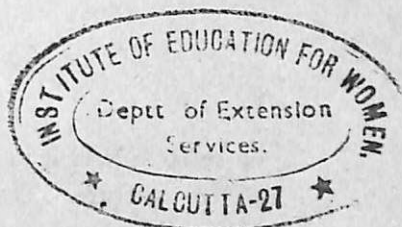
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ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS.

INDIAN MUSEUM.

ASOKA GALLERY.

THE first gallery of the archæological section of the Museum is chiefly occupied with a portion of the railing, and one gateway of the Buddhist Stūpa of Bharhut. They were removed from Bharhut to Calcutta, in order to save them from destruction by the ignorant peasantry who were in the habit of utilising the ruins of the Stūpa as a quarry for building purposes.

Some fragments of the pillars and coping, and a few cross-bars of the quadrangular Buddhist railing of Buddha Gayā, have been built up as a restoration. The gallery also contains a series of fine casts of the friezes of the rock-cut temples of Orissa; and a few casts from the Sanchi Stūpa.

Gateway and Railing of the Bharhut Stūpa.

The gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa¹ has been partially restored, and portions of two quadrants have been erected

¹ Stūpa is from a Sanskrit root meaning "to heap" or "to erect," and has been corrupted in English into "Tope." The term stūpa is applicable "to any pile or mound, as to a funeral pile, hence it comes to be applied to a Tumulus erected over any of the sacred relics of Buddha, or on spots consecrated as the scenes of his acts."—*Burgess and Fergusson's Cave Temples of India*, p. 171. The term Dāgoba, which is generally restricted to a stūpa cut out of the solid rock in caves, is derived, according to the authors of the *Cave Temples of India*, from *dhātugarbha* or *dhātugopa*, which is the term for the altar or receptacle in which the relics of Buddha were exposed to the reverential gaze of the worshippers. Fergusson is of opinion that the domical form of the stūpa was copied from such models as the tents of the Tartars or Kirghiz which, as far as is known, are always domical.

on either side of it in order to convey some idea of the nature of the structure. The gateway belonged to the eastern side of the Stūpa, and it therefore now occupies the same relation to the quadrants as it did in the original building. A plan of the railing and Stūpa hangs near the western wall, opposite the gateway.

The remaining pillars of the railing have been distributed in groups throughout the gallery, as the available space permitted, while a series of the copings were split in two, and fixed into the east wall of the gallery, in order to permit of the scenes represented on them being conveniently studied.

The discovery of the Buddhist Stūpa of Bharhut is perhaps the most memorable achievement in the whole annals of the Archæological Survey of India, and the entire credit of the discovery is due to the accomplished head of that Survey, Major-General Cunningham. Apart altogether from the immediate light which these sculptures throw on many of the birth stories of Buddhism, and on the period in the history of that remarkable religion to which the Stūpa owed its origin, a deep interest attaches to them from the insight they give into the habits and domestic and religious life of the people who carved them, nearly two centuries before the Christian era. The railing and its coping are profusely covered with representations of the people who inhabited that part of India two thousand years ago, and who appear to have been a comparatively small race, with rather short, round, and flat faces, differing in these respects from the taller, sharper, and larger-featured people who now inhabit the area in which the Stūpa is situated. In their short compact forms and physiognomy, they recall the leading physical characters of some of the aboriginal races of the plateau of Central India, more than those of an Arian people.

All the Bharhut sculptures, which are exhibited in this gallery, have been fully described by General Cunningham¹ in

¹ A copy of his work lies in the gallery for reference.

his work entitled "The Stūpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures, illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B.C." This work is richly illustrated with photographs from the originals, and it contains translations of the inscriptions. In the following account of the sculptures and inscriptions, free use has been made of the information contained in General Cunningham's work.

The ruins of the Stūpa of Bharhut lie about six miles to the south of the Sutna station, on the Allahabad and Jabalpur railway, and are situated in the small state of Nagode.

The Stupa was a domical-shaped structure, built of brick, with a cylindrical base. It had a circumference of $212\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and was covered with a layer of plaster, and the cylindrical portion had a number of small recesses surrounding it, 120 in each row, the rows of recesses being continued as high as the spring of the dome or *garbha*. These recesses were triangular, the point of the triangle being turned downwards, and each held five lamps, so that when the lamps in all the rows were lighted they would produce the appearance as if the lower portion of the building were entwined by a "diamond-shaped network of lights." The top of the dome was surmounted by the capital, on the lower portion of which was a shrine, with an arched recess on each of its sides, and ornamented by a Buddhist railing, while the pillars of the shrine supported its roof, consisting of four flat slabs placed one over the other, and increasing in size from below upwards so that each projected outwards beyond the one below it, the topmost one forming a broad platform on which two umbrellas were placed one over the other. These details of a *dāgoba* or *stūpa* are seen represented on the western aspect of the south corner pillar. On festivals, as is seen in that bas-relief, the Stūpa was decorated with garlands, also the railings and gateways. The railing that surrounded this

central dome of brickwork was separated from it by a clear space of 10 feet 4 inches wide, and on this the worshippers used to congregate and perambulate. The floor was brick, and some of it remains to the present day. Its outer border was defined by a circle of kerbstones, the outer sides of which were applied to the inner faces of the pillars of the railing up to the lower half medallions. The space between the railing and the Stūpa was reached by four openings, corresponding nearly to the points of the compass, and assuming the character of high triumphal gateways or *toranas*, so that the railing was divided into quadrants, in each of which there were twenty pillars including those of its screen. They are called in the inscriptions, *thabo*. Each of them stood on a square block of stone outside the kerbstones of the inner space and resting on the ground. Outside the railing there was a terrace, and among its *débris* the remains of votive stūpas were found, and two small pillars, 2 feet 2 inches high, evidently belonging to a low railing that encircled the outer terrace. Although this railing in its entirety must have consisted of two hundred and forty pillars, if it surrounded the whole building, only two pillars have been found, and ten specimens of the curved coping, whereas not a single cross-bar of the seven hundred and fifty has been discovered. There is one of these pillars in the collection, but the corner pillar said to have been discovered is not in the Museum. The gateways and pillars and coping of the railing were the gifts of separate individuals whose names are generally engraved on them.

Commencing with the eastern gateway as partially restored, it will be observed, from the plan hanging near the western wall of this gallery, that the railing had four gateways, and that each gateway did not open directly outwards, but had a screen in front, and to one side of it. Each gateway consisted of two pillars and three cross-bars. The pillar on the south side of the gate is as it stood, with its bell-shaped capitals and

abacus surrounded by mythical figures of animals, whereas the pillar to the north, with its bell-shaped capitals, is a restoration in artificial stone. The abacus and the mythical animals its supports are in original. Each pillar consists of four octagons united, but each with a bell-shaped capital. Two feet of the base, however, form a square mass resulting from the complete amalgamation of the octagons. On the pillar on the south side of the gateway, there is an inscription of which Dr. Mitra has given two translations;—the first was communicated to General Cunningham, and published in his work on this Stūpa, and is rendered as follows:—“In the kingdom of Sugana (Srughna) this *Toran*, with its ornamental stonework and plinth, was caused to be made by king *Dhana-bhūti*, son of *Váchki* and *Aga Rāja*, son of *Goti*, and grandson of *Visa Deva*, son of *Gágí*,”—and the second appeared in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, for March 1880, and runs thus:—“In the kingdom of Sugana, (this) toraṇa embellished with stone carvings was caused to be erected by Dhanabhuti, son of Váchhí and of Agarāju, the son of Gotí, and grandson of king Visadeva, son of Gágí.” General Cunningham has also given a translation of this inscription by Dr. Bühler, who thus interprets it: “This ornamental gateway has been erected by the king of Srughna, *Dhanabhūti*, born of (the queen of) the Vatsa family, (and) son of *Aga-rāja*, born of (the queen of) the Gota family, (and) grandson of king (*Visa Deva*), born of (the queen of) the Gāgeya race, and spiritual merit has been gained (thereby).” Dr. Bühler says that the usage of calling sons after their mothers, such as occurs in this inscription, was caused, not by polyandry, but by the prevalence of polygamy, and he further states that “all the metonymica of the ancient kings and teachers, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, are formed by a female family name with the word *putra* the name was to distinguish the king or teacher from the other

sons of his father, by naming his mother according to her family name."

General Cunningham informs me that since the publication of the "Bharut Stūpa," facts have been brought to light which prove that the correct reading of the name of the dynasty of Indian kings, by one of whom the Bharut Stūpa was erected, is not Sruglha but Sunga, and that this dynasty reigned between 176-64 B. C., over the greater part of North-Western India. In his work on the Stūpa, it is stated that the builder of the monument, king Dhanabhūti the 1st, reigned at a much earlier period than that now assigned to the duration of his dynasty, and hence General Cunningham first regarded the Stūpa as dating from 250 to 200 B. C.¹; but now, in view of recent discoveries, I have his authority to state that he considers the Stūpa not older than 150 B. C.

Each bell-shaped capital carries an abacus on which rests another capital consisting of four mythical recumbent animals². The capital of the south pillar consists of two mythical clawed animals on the west side, with two humped (headless) cattle on the east face, while the capital of the

¹ "The date, too, has been assumed by him to be from 250 to 200 B. C., on data which are generally supposed to be sufficient for the purpose. I would suggest, however, that as this date is arrived at principally by calculating backwards at a rate of 30 years per reign from Dhanabhūti II., and as 16 years on the average is a fairer rate, it may be placed by him (General Cunningham) at least 50 years too early; the more especially as even that king's reign is only determined from a slight variation in the form of the letters used in the inscriptions, which is by no means certain. On the whole I (Fergusson) fancy 200 to 150 B. C. is a safer date to rely upon in the present state of our knowledge. For myself I would prefer the most modern of these two dates as the most probable. It is, at all events, the one most in accordance with the character of the sculpture, which is, as nearly as may be, half way between those of the rail at Buddha Gaya, and those found on the gateways at Sanchi."—*Fergusson and Burgess' Cave Temples of India*, pages 62, 63.

² General Cunningham has described these as winged bulls and lions, but on these capitals of the gate none of the mythical animals are winged.

northern pillar has two, maned and clawed, recumbent animals with human heads on the west, and two lions on the east side.

The capitals of the pillars are essentially characteristic of the Asokan period of Indian Architecture. They have a distinct resemblance to the ancient Persian capital, and, in connection with this, attention may be directed to a large capital from Mathura, exhibited in the Indo-Scythian gallery and probably only a century and a half more recent than the Bharhut pillars. In the Bharhut capitals, the couchant figures are not winged, whereas in the Mathura sculpture they are, and it will be observed that running winged animals or monsters of exactly the same type as those Mathura figures form a portion of the ornament of a part of the architrave of the Buddha Gayā railing, which, judging from its characters in their entirety, must be of nearly the same age as that of Bharhut, and one of the pilasters of the *Ānānta* cave in Orissa has a similar bell-shaped capital, but more depressed from above downwards, and with a Persipolitan base; and Persipolitan pillars formed the support of the canopy of Buddha's walk at Buddha Gayā. Similar animal figures to those of the capitals, or modifications of them, are also present in the coping, and one occurs on the second cross-bar in the gateway, where it is associated with two lions. On the architrave, figures of this kind seem, in some cases, to mark the beginning and ending of the representations in relief either of a story or Jātaka, and one example of this is well seen in the only piece of the original coping in position, to the right of the gateway.

The interval, between these animals of the capitals, is a square block or dado ornamented with floral devices and about 1 foot high. Between each of the outward prolongations of the three cross-bars, there must have been a similar block, on either side, but only fragments of them were discovered. General Cunningham, from the fragments preserved, arrived at the conclusion that each presented a face of two Persipolitan half-

pillars standing on a Buddhist railing, with lotus flowers in the spaces between the pillars. Resting on each there was the outward prolongation, as it were, of the cross-bar, as a separate stone, fashioned like a *makara* or mythical Saurian, the tail of which constituted a scroll. Only one of these stones is in original, the others being reproduced in artificial stone.

The square portion of the block bears the representation of a *wihāra* on each of its faces, and the head of the Saurian with open jaws is directed towards it. This was a favourite style of ornament on the gateways of many of the cave temples of India.

Only a fragment has been preserved of the first cross-bar, but what position it occupied in the original structure is unknown. It represents an elephant scene. The second cross-bar, the position of which is also unknown, has a clump of bamboos with a maned lion-like animal on each side of it, with an altar in front. Behind the lion, to the right, there is a lion-like animal with a human head, and behind the other to the left, there is a mythical animal somewhat resembling a rhinoceros. This cross-beam is nearly entire, so far as its length is concerned, but its other side has been split away. The next beam was not found, and its place is taken by a piece of wood. The intervals between these cross-beams which were gently arched, were filled up, more or less, by little pillars and figures of men and women placed against pilasters. Some of these have been either wholly or partially preserved. General Cunningham remarks that these balusters and small figures have a peculiar interest, as he considers them to be better carved than any of the figures in the rail; and from the circumstance that Arian letters are engraved on their bases and capitals, and occur on no other parts of the railing, he is disposed to regard them as the work of western artists.

The floral decoration, carried on the upper bar, has been

reproduced from fragments sufficient in number and character to indicate the design as restored.

In General Cunningham's restoration, the top piece, projecting out on each side, is surmounted by a chakra or wheel of the law, bearing the trisul or triple gem, and external to it there is a horse covered by an umbrella shading a sacred object. The other intervals below these were partially filled up by kindred figures. This gateway has been compared by General Cunningham to the ornamented archways and to the ornamental frames of wood which are placed over doors and archways at the celebration of weddings, at the present day, and which are commonly known as toranas, and, hence, the whole is sometimes spoken of as a torana.

Each of the pillars of the railing is a monolith bearing a central medallion on each face, with a half medallion at the top and at the bottom. These pillars were known as "*thabo*," the word being the Pali form of the Sanskrit *stambha*, a pillar (Cunningham). The cross-bars have medallions on both sides and are known as "*suchi*," or needles, from the circumstance that they threaded together the pillars. The devices on them are very effective, and only a few are exactly like one another. Some of them are mere medallions, containing a human bust in the centre, surrounded by lotus leaves, while others are occupied by figures of mammals and birds, representations of monsters, domestic and religious scenes, and Jātakas or Birth-stories of Buddha. To bring out the details of these sculptures, the whole of the railings have been slightly tinted red, so as to intensify their original colour, which was pale pinkish. The stone is an intensely hard, and highly silicious sandstone.

It will be observed that nearly every pillar and very many of the "*suchi*" are inscribed, and it is wonderful how clear and deep the inscriptions are after an exposure to the atmosphere of more than 2,000 years. The language is ancient Pali,

and the characters have all the features that distinguish those of Asoka's time¹, and which occur on *lats* and rocks, and on the Buddha Gayā railing.

P. 1 Passing on now to the screen, the first or corner pillar to the north has three figures, all men, guardians of the southern quarter to which this pillar originally belonged, it having been placed here to illustrate the character of a gateway.

According to the Buddhist system of the universe², in the centre of the earth stands a gigantic mountain called Mahā Meru, which has a height of 168,000 yojanas³, one-half of which lies below the ocean. The earth, according also to this system is encircled by a great rocky wall, the sakwala gala, between which and Mahā Meru are seven concentric circles of rock called Yugandhara, Isadhara, Karawika, Sudarsana, Nēmendhara, Winataka, and Aswakarnna. These circles of rock are separated from each other by seas which decrease in depth from the inner to the outer circle, the most external being only one inch in depth, whereas the sea next to Mahā Meru is 84,000 yojanas deep. The universe consists of innumerable systems of such worlds, the space over which the light of the sun of any system makes itself felt being called a sakwala, each sakwala including a world like our earth with a Mahā Meru in its centre, surrounded by seven concentric rocky circles and intervening oceans, with a sakwala gala, or rocky basin, outside all, and systems of heavens and hells, the former being divided into dewa and brahma lokas. These sakwalas are scattered throughout space, in sections of three, and all the sakwalas in one section touching each other, the space between the three forms the Lokāntarika hell. The lokas are situated in the

¹ The letters are distinguished from those of later times, such as those which occur in legends of Amogha-bhūti, Dāra-Ghosha, and Vāmika, and in the still later Mathura inscriptions of Sudāsa, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva, in that none of them have any heads.—*Cunningham*.

² See Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 10, *et seq.*

³ A *yojana*, according to Fausbøll, is equivalent to seven miles.

realms of space, high above the earth and its four continents, and there are six of them known as *dewa lokas*, and sixteen as *brahma lokas*. There are, besides, one hundred and thirty-six *narakas* or hells in the interior of the earth of each *sakwala*. The six *dewa lokas* are (1) *Chāturmaharājika*, (2) *Tawutisā*, (3) *Yama*, (4) *Tusita*, (5) *Nimmānarati*, and (6) *Paranirmita*¹. The first stretches from the first concentric circle of rocks, *Yugandhara*, to the *sakwala gala*, and is 42,000 *yojanas* above the earth. It has four guardian *dewas*, these beings resembling the lesser gods of the Greeks and Latins and of other ancient faiths, and the saints of the Romanists: they having been once men, according to Buddhism, who having practised virtue in a succession of existences have been temporarily rewarded with heaven. They are, however, all subject to re-birth, the duration of their tenure of heaven depending on the amount of accumulated merit. But besides these, the Buddhist system recognises *dewas* on earth, the spirits of the forest, mountain, and air. In the first *dewa-loka*, there are innumerable dwellings of *dewas*, but its protection is entrusted to four *dewas* who reside in palaces on the *Yugandhara* rocks, each being the guardian of a quarter, and their names are *Dhratarāshtra*, *Wirūdha*, *Wirūpaksha*, and *Waisrāwana*, the first being to the east, the second to the south, the third to the west, and the fourth to the north, so that they are the guardians of Mount Meru, on the summit of which is the *dewa-loka Tawutisā*, the abode of *Sakra* or *Indra*, the centre of each *sakwala*.

The railing of the *Bharhut Stūpa*, the *Yugandhara* of the *Stūpa* itself, appears to have been guarded on its four sides by figures of these *dewas*, and General Cunningham has been enabled to identify *Waisrāwana* and *Wirūdha*. Owing to this corner pillar having been used to form part of this screen, the gallery admitting only of one gate facing the east being restored, *Wirūdha* and the subsidiary guardians of the

¹ Spence Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

southern gate, Chaka and Gangito, face north, east, and west, whereas, their original positions were west, north, and south. As in all these figures, Wirūdha, Pl. XXI, figs. 1 and 3, in the form of a man, with his hands in front of his chest, the palms opposed in the attitude of devotion, is represented standing on rocks in which are caves from which look out beasts and birds of prey. The king of the Nāgas, Chaka (see "Bharhut Stūpa," Pl. XXI, fig. 3), is also standing on rocks tenanted by wild beasts, and is recognised by his head-dress being surmounted by five cobra heads. In the gateway, as now erected, he faces the east, whereas in the original structure he looked towards the north, and on the opposite side of this pillar is Gangito Yaksha (Pl. XXI, fig. 1) with one foot on a tree and the other on an elephant. According to the Buddhist cosmogony, the Nāgas are demi-gods residing under the Trikūta rocks, which support Mount Meru. They assume both the form of the spectacled cobra and that of man. The dewa-loka Tawutisā, the abode of Sekra or Indra, was also guarded by Yakshas. They are not condemned spirits, because in one birth Sakyā Muni himself was a Yaksha. Nirvāṇa is therefore within the reach of some of them. Others, however, are malignant, and hence they are popularly regarded as devils. Besides occurring in the dewa-lokas, they frequent also the earth, its lakes and streams, and are subject to death, after which they again return in some other form. Their dead bodies are never seen, nor do they become offensive, as in dying the Yakshas assume the form of the dead chameleon, and of many invertebrate animals, or of some small bird or mammal. Above the head of Wirūdha, a tope or stūpa is sculptured in feeble relief. It is hung with garlands, and is probably a representation of the Bharhut Stūpa itself.

C. B. 1 Following the inside of the screen, there is only one cross-bar between the first two pillars. It bears on its inner face a most effective bust, occupying the centre of the medallion

(Pl. xxiv, fig. 1) the rim of which is composed of lotus petals, while the background, to the head of the figure, is in fine parallel radiating ridges, this being the conventional method of representing the stamens of the lotus flower, in these sculptures. It represents the bust of a man holding up a catkin or flower-spike in his right hand. This bar originally belonged to the south-west quadrant, and is inscribed "Rail-gift of Isi Rakshita."

P. 2 The second pillar belonged to the south-west quadrant. The central medallion, on the inner face, is inscribed "*Yava-Majhakiyam Jātakam*,"—that is, "The Yava-Majhakiya Birth," and it is said to have been presented by the lay-brother Samaka, according to the inscription above (Pl. xxv, fig. 3).

The Buddhist stories of the previous births of Gotama are known as *Jātakas*, and they appear to have been the fountain-head of much of the folk-lore of western nations, and even to have been the source from which sprung many of the fables of Æsop. According to the Singhalese Buddhists, Buddha had 550 previous births, and to each of them a story is attached. This medallion is supposed to relate to the last scene in the following story told in the "*Kathā Sarit Sāgarā*"¹

"During the absence of her husband, Upasokā became the object of the addresses of the King's family priest, the commander of the guards, the Prince's tutor, and her husband's banker. She made appointments with them all to come to her house on the same night. At the end of the first watch of the night, the preceptor of the Prince arrived. Upasokā affected to receive him with great delight; and, after some conver-

¹ "Ocean of the Rivers of Stories" composed by a Śrī Somadeva Bhaṭṭa, in the twelfth century A.D., who derived his knowledge from the "*Vṛihat-Kathā* written by Guṇādhya, in the sixth century, in the Paisācī dialect." *Rhys Davids*.

sation, desired him to take a bath, which her hand-maidens had prepared. The preceptor made no objection; the bath was placed in a dark room, his own clothes were taken away, and in their place he was supplied with sheets smeared with lamp-black oil and perfumes. When sufficiently rubbed, the women exclaimed, 'Alas! here arrives our master's particular friend.' Thereupon they hurried the poor man into a basket, well fastened by a bolt outside, and, in the same way, they disposed of the priest and the commander of the guard. From the banker Upasokā demanded her husband's money, and, leading him near the closed basket, spoke aloud, and made him promise that she should have it. A bath was then proposed, but before it could be enjoyed, daylight appeared, and the banker was glad to depart.

"Next day, Upasokā presented a petition to King Nanda, saying that the banker sought to appropriate property entrusted to him by her absent husband, Vararuchi. The banker was then summoned into court, and Upasokā said that the household gods which her husband had left in baskets could give witness. The king having sent for the baskets, Upasokā said, 'Speak, gods, and declare what you have overheard this banker say in our dwelling. If you are silent, I will unhouse you in this presence.' The men in the baskets acknowledged that they had heard the banker admit that he possessed wealth belonging to the husband of Upasokā. The court was amazed, and the terrified banker promised restitution. The king now begged for a sight of these household gods, and out came the culprits like lumps of darkness; and being recognised, they were not only exposed to ridicule, but banished as criminals from the kingdom, whilst Upasokā excited the admiration and esteem of the whole city¹."

¹ This version of the story is given by General Cunningham from Mrs. Manning's *Mediæval India*. Bharhut Stūpa, p. 55. See Dr. Bühler, "Indian Antiquary," Vol. I, p. 305.

In the medallion, the king is seated surrounded by his attendants, whilst Upasokā stands on his left hand pointing to three of the baskets already placed before him, one of them in the act of having the lid taken off, while a fourth basket is being carried in. This fourth basket,—for there are only three in the story—seems to be introduced to make the tale more clear. In the opening to each basket, there is the face of a man, and Upasokā points to them with a smile and sneer passing over her countenance. On the right hand of the king, a woman is waving a *chauri*, and, to the left of Upasokā, there is one of her female attendants. The half medallion, in the upper part of this pillar, represents an elephant running away, apparently in a fright, judging by its relaxed muscles. In front of it there is a tortoise or turtle, and, behind it, a representation of some kind of insect.

- P. 3 The next pillar to the right being a corner pillar, there are no sculptures on this side. The central medallion of the adjoining pillar represents Lakshmi standing on a partially blown lotus flower contained in a vase from which a lotus stem issues on either side, bearing the fruit of the lily, each of which supports an elephant, the trunks of which are raised over the head of the goddess, and are pouring out water from lotahs. The semi-medallion, below, has four geese represented on it, the two middle ones being in the act of feeding; while the upper half medallion has four elephants, besides the usual section of the lotus flower ornament, with some other designs. A goose is figured, on a lotus bud, above each side of the central medallion.

- P. 1 We shall now examine the outside faces of these four pillars. Passing the first with its representation of the king of the Nāgas, but noting that where the two arms of the adjoining figures are united in the stone, the armlet common to them both is in the form of a *triratna*, or trisul of feathers, it will be observed that the interval between the last-mentioned

C. B. 1 pillar and the next is greater than in the rest of the railing, and, like its other side, the bar carries on this face a most effective medallion (Pl. xxiv, fig. 2) of a man's head. He is holding up to his face a small spray of flowers between his thumb and first finger.

P. 2 In the following pillar, the central medallion has a humorous scene (Pl. xxxiii, fig. 3) representing a troop of monkeys, *Macacus rhesus*, assisting in the extraction of a tooth from a giant who is seated on a chair. One monkey is holding up the giant's lip and the forceps in position, to which has been harnessed an elephant by means of a rope. The elephant is driven by a monkey with his *ank'us*, while another ape bites the tail of the great beast to make him go, and yet another blows a conch, and a fourth beats a drum. A monkey is seated on a stool at the feet of the giant, and is performing some operation on his hand. External to and above the medallion, a man and woman, one on either side, are standing on a lotus. In this pillar there is no half medallion, but a woman's head appears looking over the top of a curtain. One arm is held forwards, apparently waving a piece of embroidered cloth.

P. 3 The corner pillar is carved, with three distinct scenes on each face. This pillar originally belonged to the western gate, and the scenes depicted on it in relief are figured in General Cunningham's work (Pls. xvi and xvii), where the pillar is called the Ajātasatru pillar. The upper scene (Pl. xvii, fig. 1) consists of a double circle of men sitting round a Bodhi tree with an altar in front of it covered with flower-buds. Two figures are represented in the air throwing flowers out of small baskets which they hold. The middle scene (Pl. xvii, fig. 2) is what General Cunningham calls the Sankisa¹ ladder. A triple ladder leads from heaven to earth, reaching the latter close to a Bodhi tree, around which people

¹ See Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. I, p. 271 *et seq.*

are standing in adoration, while one figure in the air is throwing flowers among them from the tree, and, to the right, another of the angels is shouting out the approach of Buddha. The central ladder is the broadest with a narrow one on either side. On the first and on the last step of this central ladder there is a footprint of Buddha. General Cunningham observes that these steps are similar in all respects to the single flight of steps which was found at the western gateway of the Stüpa. The ladder to the right of the central one, and like it of gold, was that by which Sekra (Indra) accompanied Buddha and descended to earth along with him; while the ladder on the left was of silver, and on it Brahma descended on the same occasion as one of Buddha's attendants. These ladders were called into existence by Sekra on the occasion when Buddha was returning from the Trayastrīṃśat heaven to earth, after having preached his doctrine to the dewas and to his mother, Mahā Māyā. The steps of Buddha's ladder were alternately gold, silver, coral, ruby, emerald, and other gems. On the front of the platform, before the tree, there are numerous representations of the impress of the human hand; these impressions occurring in many of the scenes. The next and lowest scene (Pl. xvii, fig. 3) is a tree, like a mango, laden with fruit, with a platform in front of it covered by an umbrella. The figures are all men. On the right side, a man stands with his first finger applied to his thumb, both being held between his lips, while in his right hand he holds up an object, from the lower end of which a scarf hangs down and passes backwards over his left shoulder to the hands of the man behind him, who holds up the end between his opposed palms; while two other figures on the opposite side of the tree, one of whom is looking upwards, appear to hold a continuation of the scarf in that direction. This scene, according to General Cunningham, represents the visit of Raja Ajātasatru to Buddha, which took place in the mango garden of Jīvaka

in Rājagaha¹. On the left hand pilaster of the middle scene, there is the following inscription, according to Dr. Hoernle², "*Bhadatasa aya Isipālitaśa bhānakasa narakamikaśa dānaṃ.*" i.e., "the gift of the Reverend Lord Isipālita the Preacher (*on being*) newly appointed to this office." The sacred trees in these three scenes are all distinct species and doubtless represent different Buddhas, as the Blessed ones are never figured as men, in any of the sculptures of this railing.

The upper relief (Pl. xvi, fig. 1) of the second face of the pillar represents a three-storied building, each floor having around it a Buddhist railing, which, on the second and third floors, constitutes the balcony of a verandah. The lower floor seems to be an open hall in which there is a prince with some of the women of his household around him, while the second floor has three arched openings, in each of which a head appears, while on the third floor there are only two openings and two heads seen in them. The roof is arched—a character common to all the representations of buildings of this kind. The centre of the building lies further back than the sides which thus constitute two wings. This is the only three-storied edifice represented in these sculptures, and its roof is inscribed according to Dr. Hoernle³ "*Vejayanta Pāsādo*,"—that is, "The Vejayanta palace." To the left of this building, and apparently quite distinct from it, there is another of a totally dissimilar character and with a domed roof surmounted by a pinnacle. There is an arched opening in front, which evidently projected outwards from the building, while a second small roof ran round the temple as

¹ 'Rājagaha or Rājgir was the capital of Magadha or Central India during the whole period of Buddha's ministration in India. It was the residence of Bimbisara, during whose reign he attained Buddhahood, and of Ajātasattu, in the eighth year of whose reign (B. C. 481) he entered into rest in nirvāṇa.'—Fergusson, *Caves and Temples of India*, p. 44.

² Indian Antiquary, Vols. X & XI.

³ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, Pl. cxxix, p. 29.

a verandah. A low Buddhist railing surrounded the edifice, with a door in front. The dome roof is inscribed "*Sudhammā devasabhā; Bhagavato Chūḍāmaḥo.*" "The assembly of the gods; the festival of the head-dress of the Blessed one¹." The object which is seen on the altar or place of worship, on which also are the impressions of human hands, and which is guarded on either side by a dewa, is the *chūḍa*, or top knot of hair, Buddha's hair and head-dress, which were carried to the Trayastriṃśat heavens by the dewas; he having with a single stroke of his sword cut off his hair on the banks of the Anōmā river. Below this palace and canopy, a band of male musicians is playing two harps, a drum, and a pair of cymbals to four women dancing, the attitudes the latter assume being much the same as those of the nautch-girl of the present day. The women are Apsarasas and the men Gandhārvas, the musicians of Indra's merry heaven. According to the Rāmāyana the Apsarasas were divine nymphs who sprang from the churning of the ocean by the gods, while in the hymns of the Rig-Veda they were "personifications of the vapours which are attracted by the sun and form into mist and clouds;" but in subsequent periods they were regarded merely as licentious wives of the Gandhārvas, "promised as a reward to heroes fallen in battle, when they were received into the paradise of Indra; and while, in the Rig-Veda, they assist Soma to pour down his floods, they descend, in the epic literature, to earth merely to shake the virtue of penitent sages, and to deprive them of the power they would otherwise have acquired through unbroken austerities²." Below this scene in the Trayastriṃśat heavens, another Buddhist railing occurs, under which there is a scene (Pl. xvi, fig. 2) representing worshipers around an altar covered by an umbrella decorated with pendants. On the altar cloth, the impressions of three

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

² Goldstücker's Sanskrit Dictionary, quoted in "Bharhut Stūpa," p. 28.

human hands occur, while at its base there are two foot-prints, side by side. The scene is labelled "*Mahāsāmayikāya Arahagutto devaputto dhokkamto Bhagavato sāsati paṭisaṁ-dhīm*¹," and represents the arrival of the dewas at the Mahāvana vihāra, to hear the *Mahāsamaya sūtra*. It will be observed that each foot-print, as on those on the other face of the pillar, has the chakra engraved on it, the wheel being one of the thirty-two marks on a child destined to become a Bodhisatwa. It will also be seen that two of the figures have wings, like the angels of the Christian heaven. The front of the altar is ornamented with garlands and with figures of parrots. Below another Buddhist railing, there is the last scene (Pl. XVI, fig. 3) which is inscribed: "*Ajātasatru Bhagavato vasaṁ-date*." "*Ajātasatru worships the Blessed one*²." In this, as in the previous relief, the foot-prints are at the base of the altar which does not occupy the centre of the sculpture as in the former, but is placed at the upper right corner, the Raja Ajātasatru kneeling to the left of the altar. Below the altar, two trees occur, and the Raja standing between them with his right hand upraised, as if addressing some one. Before him an elephant is kneeling, the mahout sitting far back near the tail, the animal apparently waiting patiently to be mounted by Ajātasatru. Behind this group, to the left, there are three elephants mounted, and two driven by women, the goad used being the same as that in use at the present day. Above them, two women and a man are standing in a row, with others behind them, all evidently belonging to the first section of the scene in which the Raja is represented worshipping. General Cunningham supposes that the figure standing by the side of the elephant is Ajātasatru, who, after dismounting near the Vihāra, asked the question of his physician Jīvaka, "Where is Buddha?"

¹ Hoernle *op. cit.*, p. 28² Hoernle *op. cit.*, p. 27.

On this aspect of the next three cross-rails to the left, and all of which belonged originally to the south-west quadrant, there are the following inscriptions, beginning with the

B. 2, 3 uppermost : (1) "Gift of Isidata" (or Rishi-datta) ; (2) "Gift of C. C. 4 Buddha Rakshita, the sculptor" ; and (3) " Gift of Isi P. 4 Rakshitā of Sirisapadā." This side of the fourth pillar (one of the north-east quadrant) is the same as that of its other face, and it is inscribed, "*Moragiriḥma Thupadāsasa dānam thabho*," which means, "Gift of Thupadāsa of Moragiri," in Sanskrit, Stūpadāsa, or "servant of the stūpa."

These surfaces of the next two cross-bars are inscribed as

C. B. 5 follows, from above downwards : (1) *Moragirimā Ghāṭiḥ Nāta*
C. B. 6 *dānam* ; "Gift of Ghāṭiḥ's mother of Moragiri ;" (2) "*Aya l'n-nāvasuno Suchi dānam*," "Rail-gift of the reverend Punarvasu."

Before examining the scenes on the architrave, the northern and southern sections of the railing will be described, the former commencing from the pillar next the gateway, and on its western face, the description passing to the north as far as the tenth pillar, and returning on the east from north to south, the fifth pillar being the only one having all its faces described at once. These consist of three figures, nearly

P. 5 life-size, one woman and two men. This pillar originally formed part of the northern gate, and the figures have been made out by General Cunningham to be as follows. the male figure facing the west is Waisrāwana, (Pl. XXII, fig. 1), the guardian dewa of the northern quarter of Mahā Meru. He is king of the Yakshas, and his attendants are the Yakshas, a kela laksha, ten millions in number, "who have garments adorned with gold, and are mounted on horses shining like gold. The déva is arrayed and mounted in a similar manner, and shining like a kela-laksha of golden lamps, keeps guard over the northern division of the sakwala¹." In the northern gate, this pillar was the first pillar of the screen of that gateway, and the

¹ Spence Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 25.



king of the Yakshas thus faced to the north, while the female figure on his left looked towards the west instead of to the south, as she is now placed. The former measures 4 feet 5 inches in height, and is standing on the head and shoulders of a dwarfed human monster who supports himself on his feet and hands. The upper half of the figure is very sparingly draped, the only garment worn over this part of the body being a narrow cloth folded into a band and thrown twice across the left shoulder. The lower half of the body is covered with a thin transparent cloth, as far as the knees, tied up by a tasseled band of cords, but a portion of it hangs down loosely in front between the limbs. The hair is drawn up in a great mass on one side and secured with a figured head-cloth, the ends of the hair and of the cloth being tied up in a round knot on the front of the head, towards the right. The hair appears in short masses around the forehead. Both ears are perforated, but the hole in the left ear is much dragged downwards by heavy rings through which a square mass is passed, while the lobe of the right ear is distended by a compact disk of concentric rings¹. The arms are encircled below the shoulder by heavy armlets, in form, like a trisul. There are heavy bracelets made of little oblong pieces of metal strung into six concentric bands, and there is a plain signet ring on the little finger of the right hand. Over this figure, the following is inscribed: "*Bhadanta Budha Rakkhitasā Saṭupadanasa dānam thabo*," which means, "Pillar—gift of the lay-brother Budha Rakshita of Saṭupadana;" while close to the right shoulder of the figure are carved the words "*Kupiro Yakho*" or "The Yaksha Kuvera." General Cunningham, in connection with the latter name, explains that the Pali name of Waisrāwana, in Sanskrit Vaisrā-

¹ Mr. Carlleyle of the Archaeological Survey of India has recently discovered ear ornaments exactly of this type, at Indor, in a mound which he calls the "Temple mound."

vana, is a patronymic of Kuvera, the king of all the Yakshas.

- P. 23 The female figure (Pl. XXII, fig. 3) is represented standing under a Nāga tree, which Dr. King suggests is *Mesua ferrea*, on the head of a monster with a fish's body and the head of a ram or sheep. Her right hand holds one of the boughs of the tree over her head, while her left arm is thrown round the trunk, her hand holding a spray of the tree, in front of her left thigh, her left leg being also thrown round the stem of the tree. Her hair is parted down the middle, but gathered into a long plait ornamented with beads and hanging down before her right shoulder. From the way in which the hair rises above the head, but preserving its outline, it is evident that the height could not have been entirely brought about by the mass of the hair itself, so it would appear that cushions and other contrivances, not unknown to the fair sex of the present day, were used to raise it up. Round the mass so made, a broad figured or embroidered band was bound. The upper part of the body is nude, but the lower half, from the waist downwards to the knees, is thinly draped, the garment being bound round the loins with a narrow embroidered belt tied in front. The ornaments are numerous, and among them must be classed certain objects on the face, which have been described and figured by General Cunningham as tattoo marks, but which are the equivalents of the little rosettes of gold tinsel that are worn on the forehead of native women at the present day, and which were thus in use over two thousand years ago. Similar objects were fastened on to the cheeks, forming ornaments in front of the ears, and they were connected below the chin by a thread-like line of tinsel, and small isolated rosettes were also stuck on to the cheeks in front, and below the large masses. The earrings, in this bas-relief, are the same as that of the left ear of the previous figure and as in the three figures of the southern gate. A broad necklace of seven rows of beads in front, is

ornamented on each side of the first string by a leaf of the *pīpal* sacred tree, *Ficus religiosa*, and by a double triple gem—symbol or trisul in the centre, with an *ank'us* on each side of it. Besides the necklace, a heavy broad belt of five chains united together is suspended round the neck, hanging down between the breasts. A chain of long and of round beads is worn over the left shoulder passing over the right hip, with a handsome ornament hanging from it. The waist-belt consists of a series of coins threaded together in seven alternate strings of plain round and square ornamented coins, a string of beads forming the lower border of the belt, and another and distinct beaded string being associated with the cloth belt that fastens up the waist garment. A snake-like armlet encircles the left arm, and numerous plain rings serve as bracelets, but, in addition, there is another simple bracelet on each arm. There are many plain rings on each finger like those worn in the present day, and numerous rings as anklets. On the trunk of the tree "*Chada Yakhi*," is inscribed that is, "The Yakshini Chandra." She was associated as a Yakshini with Waisrāvāna in the guardianship of the northern quarter of Mahā Meru. The male figure on the other side, and which, when in position, looked towards the south, is the Yaksha Ajākālaka, as stated by the inscription to the left of the figure. As a Yaksha he was associated with Kuvera in the guardianship of the northern quarter. He holds a bud of the lotus in his right hand, which rests on his chest, while in his left hand, which hangs by his side, some little object is held between the thumb and first finger. The head-dress and ornaments are much the same as in the bas-relief of Kuvera. The figure stands on the head of a monster with a fish's body. The arms are human, and the hands are in the position as if they had been thrust into the mouth, much in the same way that the clown of a strolling company would amuse his audience by hideous grimaces.

- Returning now to the western side, the device of the medallion of the first *suchi* or bar is a rounded vase, almost of the shape of a lotah of the present day, holding the flowers and seed capsules of lilies, a goose standing on each of the latter. General Cunningham has figured this medallion (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 3). The inscription is nearly effaced. The next medallion is a human bust, draped in the fashion common to all these sculptures. It is inscribed "*Ghosāye dānam*," the "Gift of Ghosā." The lowest rail is a simple medallion rosette inscribed "*Mudasā dānam*," "Gift of Mudra."
- P. 6 The 6th pillar is inscribed "*Bibikāna Dikṣita Budhino Gaṇapatino dānam*," "Gift of Dikṣiṭa Budhi, the holder of Bikikāna." The central medallion represents two women, draped in the ordinary fashion of the period, in the attitude of dancing. The upper half medallion (Pl. xxxvi, fig. 3) has two rudely executed figures of stags; the lower half medallion being a lotus flower as usual, or some slight modification of it in the outer details.
- C. B. 11 The medallion of the 11th cross-bar (Pl. xxxiv, fig. 1) has two draught oxen lying down, the cart from which they have been unyoked and the driver being in the background. The cattle are the large up-country race with big humps. The nose-cord is as usual passed round behind the head. The cart differs but little, if at all, from the cart of the North-Western Provinces. Beyond it, there is a square object with concentric lines, and, alongside of it, a disk with a depression occupied by a boss. The man is seated, and it will be observed that he cannot rise, as his legs have been bound tightly together by a cord passed round his back. His hands also are tied together. It will be noticed that the cart is empty, and this circumstance, taken in connection with the binding of the man, would seem to indicate it as some Jātaka in which a trader, merchant, or carrier was robbed and bound. Unfortunately the inscription is lost. The

- C. B. 12 next medallion (Pl. xxiv, fig. 3) is a well-carved bust of a man with a very different physiognomy from the short round face of the last bust, as the face is rather elongated and the chin square. It bears a fragment of an inscription. The
- C. B. 13 13th cross-bar is of the simple kind and without an inscription.

P. 7 The adjoining pillar is of considerable interest, as the central medallion (Pl. xxviii, fig. 2) represents the incarnation of Buddha. In order to explain this, Buddhism holds that all the various orders of beings inhabiting the different systems of worlds are like them homogeneous, "the various distinctions¹ that are now presented being only of temporary duration. With the exception of those beings who have entered into one of the four paths leading to nirwāna, there may be an interchange of condition between the highest and the lowest. He who is now the most degraded of the demons, may one day rule the highest of the heavens; he who is at present seated upon the most honourable of the celestial thrones may one day writhe amidst the agonies of a place of torment; and the worm that we crush under our feet may, in the course of ages, become a supreme Buddha. When any of the four paths are entered, there is the certainty that in a definite period, more or less remote, nirwāna will be obtained; and they who have entered into the paths are regarded as the noblest of all the intelligences in the universe." According to Buddhism, Gotama Buddha might have become arahat myriads of ages before his reception of the Buddhaship, and might therefore have freed himself from the vortex of existences and ceased to live; but he out of compassion for the ills and miseries of the three worlds forewent this privilege and threw himself into the stream of successive existences. There is a class of virtues called the ten *pāramitās*, one or other of which is pre-eminently exercised during the whole period in which the Bodhisat prepares him-

¹ Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 37.

self for the supreme Buddhahood¹. Gotama thus became a Bodhisat or candidate for the Buddhahood myriads of ages before his birth as a prince of Magadha. Immediately before this, his last birth, previous to nirvāṇa, he resided in the dewa-loka or heaven called Tūsita, where he was known as Santūsita. When the devas and brahmas learned, after some millions of years, that their fellow dewa Santūsita was to become Buddha, they went to him in a multitude and requested him to assume the office, so "that the different orders of beings might be released from the sorrows connected with the repetition of existence When a déwa is about to leave the celestial regions, there are certain evidences of the fact. (1) His garments lose their appearance of purity. (2) The garlands and ornaments on his person begin to fade. (3) The body emits a kind of perspiration, like a tree covered with dew. (4) The mansion in which he has resided loses its attractiveness and beauty. The déwas having perceived these signs relative to Santūsita, offered him their congratulations. On the arrival of the proper person, he vanished from Tūsita, and was conceived in the womb of Mahamāyā²." A Buddha is only born in the Continent Jambudvīpa, and in Madhyamandala or Magadha in that continent, and of the Kshatriya or of the Brāhmana caste. The Bodhisat, Santūsita, elected to be born as the son of Suddhōdana, king of Kapilavatthu, of the Sākya race, whose queen was Mahā Māyā, and who, as the mother of a Buddha, would die on the seventh day after her confinement. The conception of Māyā took place in this wise. "In her dream she saw the guardian déwas of the four quarters take up the couch upon which she lay, and convey it to the great forest of Himāla, where they placed it upon a rock under the shade of a sal tree 100 miles high, and afterwards remained respectfully at a distance. The queens of the four déwas then brought water from the lake of An-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.² *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

tatta (after they had themselves bathed in it to take away all human contaminations), with which they washed her body; and they afterwards arrayed her in most beautiful garments, and anointed her with divine unguents. The four dévas then took her to a rock of silver, upon which was a palace of gold; and having made a divine couch, they placed her upon it, with her head towards the east¹” Whilst there reposing, the future Buddha, who had become a superb white elephant, approached her from the north holding a lotus flower in his trunk. After ascending the rock, he thrice did obeisance to his mother's couch, and then gently striking her right side seemed to enter her womb. It was thus he was conceived at the end of the midsummer, and the scene here depicted is Māyā reclining on her couch, a simple *chārpāṇ*, her dream being represented by the Bodhisat appearing as a white elephant, touching her with his left foot, but in his trunk there is no lotus flower, as stated in the foregoing account. In front, two female attendants sit on stools, one waving a *chauri* and the other raising her hands as if in astonishment, while another woman sits on the opposite side with hands opposed in the attitude of devotion. A lamp on a pedestal burns at the foot of the couch, and a water-vessel stands near its head. Above, the medallion is inscribed “Buddha as Rukdanti,” which General Cunningham suggests may mean “Buddha as the sounding elephant.” Notwithstanding these discrepancies, there can be no doubt but that Māyā's dream is here represented, and in the adjoining gallery there is an elaborate sculpture from Amravati containing a relief of the same scene. The upper half medallion is a monster, half fish and half bullock, and, above it, there are recumbent rams. Below the half medallion the words “*Maharasa Aterāsino Aya Sāmā-kasa thabho dānam*,” are inscribed, that is, “Pillar-gift of Mahara, the pupil of the reverend Sāmika.” The marginal

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

ornaments of this pillar, in its upper half, are the frequent ones of women standing on lotus flowers, while, below, a parrot, on each side, holds on to the bough of a fruit tree.

B. 14-16 The three next "*suchi*" medallions are floral, the lotus flower entering more or less into the device in each, but the upper one is largely made up of palm leaves grouped around half a miniature medallion of the ordinary type. The first *suchi* has an inscription on its other side rather rudely carved. On the next *suchi* there is inscribed "*Dhama Rakkhitaya dānam Suchi*," "Rail-gift of Dharmma Rakshita;" and on the lowest bar, "*Chudathîlikâyâ Kujarâyâ dānam*,"—that is, "Gift of Kunjarâ of Chudathîlika."

P. 8 The medallion (Pl. xxix, fig. 1) of the eighth pillar represents a Bodhi tree in flower, with an altar in front of it surrounded by eleven persons (men), in various attitudes, one figure kneeling on each side of the altar. Two of the figures to the right are holding up, the foremost figure in both hands and the figure behind in one hand, objects that recall the appearance of cones, or the fruit of the custard-apple tree, whilst a man, on each side of the altar, is holding a garland, probably, as in the present day, to be hung around the neck of a worshiper. All the other figures have the hands opposed in the attitude of devotion. The Bodhi tree, it will be observed, is apparently the same species as that on the first pillar met with on the right, in entering the gallery. The tree, there represented, has a pinnate leaf, with flowers in dense, sessile, corymbose, axillary panicles, and it is only a larger figure of the species on the medallion, and which, in all likelihood, is, the *Asok*, *Saraca indica*, Linn., but if not, it certainly cannot be regarded as a figure of *Stereospermum suaveolens*, as has been supposed by General Cunningham, although he remarks that, as "the flower is represented in full front view, the peculiar shape which gave the name of *Pâtali*, or the 'Trumpet flower,' is not seen,"—because each flower-

mass consists of a number of individual flowers. The sculpture, however, is inscribed "*Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi*," or the Bodhi tree of the Buddha Vipasin, the sixth Buddha before Gotama¹. On the altar will be observed the twig of a tree bearing a strong resemblance to a fig tree, and a few flowers. Over the sides of the medallion a male and a female figure stand, one on each side, on the head of a five-headed cobra. The female figure has her left arm upraised over her head to a mass of flowers, the same as that of the tree of the medallion, and over the sides of the half medallion. at the foot of the pillar, there is a representation of the tree that bears the fruits held by the men around the *Saraca indica*. The upper half medallion is of the conventional form, but with a Buddhist railing over it.

- C. B. 17 The medallion of the first of the three next cross-bars is a floral device with the grotesque element added of a seated naked man, whose only covering is that introduced by the Greeks into their statues of the nude, and from whose mouth, on each side, issues the many-flowered stem of a lotus, supported by his hands, his elbows resting on his knees. It is inscribed "*Sanghilasa dānam Suchi*," the "Rail-gift of Sanghila." C. B. 18 The medallion of the eighteenth bar is occupied by a monster with the body of a fish, a modified elephant's head, and the jaws and teeth of a crocodile. This is a favourite combination on these sculptures, and also, apparently, on the railing at Buddha Gayā. It is inscribed "*Bhadanta*

¹ Since the above was written, Dr. G. King, Superintendent of the Botanic Garden of this city, who has seen the above medallion, and has carefully examined a squeeze and drawing of the tree represented on it, informs me that, in his opinion, the tree figured is unmistakably, the *Asok*, *Saraca indica*, Linn. *Stereospermum suaveolens*, he says, has a lax terminal inflorescence, with flowers quite different in shape from those shown on the sculpture, and from those of *Saraca indica*. In Rhys Davids' "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 48, however, the Bodhi tree of Vipassin Buddha is stated to be the *Pātali*, and, in Dr. King's opinion, this tree is *Stereospermum suaveolens*, the Hindi name of which he says is still *Pādāl*.

Deva Senasā dānam," "Gift of the lay-brother Deva Sena."

- C. B. 19 The next medallion is a lotus with the outer circle of petals, each petal resembling the end of a crozier. It is labelled "*Chudathîlikâyâ Nāga Devâyâ bhikkhuniyā*,"—that is, " (Gift) of the nun Nāgâ Devâ Chudathîlika."

- P. 9 The medallion of the ninth pillar represents a Nāga in human form, over whose head is a five-headed cobra, while on each side of him a woman is waving a *chauri*, but with her lower parts those of a serpent. The upper half medallion is much broken, but sufficient remains to indicate that it was occupied with the representation of some monster, a mixture of elephant, crocodile, and fish. The lowest half medallion is of the usual lotus kind.

- C. B. 20 The medallion of the 20th *suchi* has the conventional lotus centre, but the outer row of petals is replaced by a series of elephants in various attitudes, each separated by a flower or

- C. B. 21 twig. In the medallion below it, there is a further modification of the outer circle of petals, which, in this *suchi*, is

- C. B. 22 replaced by twigs of lilies, while, in the following one, (Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 4) its place is taken by serpents' heads. The upper bar is inscribed "Gift of Chulana;" the second "Gift of Yajhiki;" and the third "Gift of the reverend Apikinaka."

- P. 10 The last pillar of this section of the rail probably belonged to the south-east quadrant, and is inscribed, at the side of the human male figure sculptured on this face of it (Pl. LIII, fig. 15bis) "*Supâvaso Yakho*," "The Yaksha Suprâvasu." In the plates of General Cunningham's work, this pillar is included among those of the south-east quadrant, but in the text he says the west was assigned to Virupāksha, the guardian of that quarter, "but here I find only Suchiloma Yakho and Sirima Devatâ on one pillar, and on a second the figure of Supâvaso Yakho" This figure is standing on the back of an elephant covered with a *gaddī* cloth and carrying a garland in his trunk. In attitude and dress, it almost exactly resem-

bles those previously described. On the opposite side, this pillar is inscribed "Pillar-gift of Dharma Gupta." This *thabo*, although it has two human figures on it, one on each side, was not an end pillar either of a quadrant or of a gateway screen, as there exist holes for the cross-bars on each of its other two sides. The female figure, on the opposite side to the Yaksha, is evidently an Apsaras, and it is of peculiar interest, as it is represented, nearly life-size, playing a seven-stringed instrument, having a close resemblance to a harp. Some other representations of this instrument are found on these sculptures, and one has already been incidentally mentioned in the description of one of the pillars of the western gateway, where two harps are in use. The harp is known as *parivāḍini*, and was sometimes played with a plectrum, as is well seen in the relief in the dancing scene in the Prasenajita pillar, yet to be described. In dress this figure differs but little from the female figure already described. It stands on a conventional lotus flower.

P. 9 The upper half medallion (Pl. xxxv, fig. 4) of this side of the 9th pillar consists of a very small human bust, in its lower border, with a canopied roof behind the figure, the two being arched in by half a circle. Above this half circle, a trisul is separated, on each of its sides, by a lotus stem with a bud, from a rearing hornless ruminant. Above the demi-medallion, there is a chakra in the centre, with an inverted trisul on each side of it, and a sacred goose or *hansa* at each margin. This pillar of the south-west quadrant is inscribed, on this side, the "Gift of the Nun Nâgâ."

C. B. 17 The uppermost of the next three cross-bars has its medallion much effaced, but the design is seen to be the same as on the medallion of the opposite side already described.

P. 8 The central medallion of the 8th pillar is effective as a device. The medallion is occupied by the small bust of a man surrounded by the petals of a lotus so arranged that they

form a setting also to the front of the bust, giving rise to the appearance, as if the figure rose out of the flower. A lotus flower occupies the top and bottom of the medallion, and a lotus flower either side. On each of the lateral flowers stands a bird with the tail of a domestic fowl, and with its neck stretched inwards, over the head of the bust. A similar bird occurs also on each side of the lower marginal flower.

B.14-16 The next three cross-bars call for no remark.

P. 7 The medallion of the 7th pillar (Pl. xxvi, fig. 7) represents what is known as the *Isi-singiya Jātaka*. A male human child is born of a doe in the Himalaya forest, the animal having become pregnant by having grazed on the spot on which the Bodhisat had micturated, while a Rishi. In the medallion, the newly-born child is being lifted up from its mother by the Bodhisat himself, who is in the company of two other Rishis. These men were fire worshippers, and one of them is seen to be seated, before a fire, near their house, a small conical structure with a roof of four tiers, whilst a water-vessel stands beside him, and two vessels, in cord-like nets, are hung from a piece of wood. The Rishis wear their hair in large coils (spiral-haired) and have a kind of kilt around the loins, and a curiously crenulated garment over their backs. They all wear beards. The upper semi-medallion, instead of being half fish and half bull, as on the opposite side, the bull is replaced by an elephant's bust and forelegs, but the head is a mixture of elephant and crocodile. It will be observed that the smooth surface, between the centre medallion and the half medallion, has some curious markings scratched on it, and which are not understood.

B.11-13 The next three medallions of cross-bars are of the plain lotus pattern.

P. 6 The medallion of the 6th pillar has its small central circle occupied by the upper half of a female figure, holding a lotus bud in one hand and a garland in the other,

while below the circle another, but male and smaller figure, is seated on a low stool holding a lotus stem in each hand. The upper half medallion (Pl. xxxiv, fig. 3) of the second pillar is a boar-hunt, one dog being on the boar's back, while the other attacks it in front. A man is represented behind this scene, driving some instrument into the neck of the boar. His hair is cut across the forehead and is in ridges, and the upper part of the body is naked, but the lower portion is clad in a curious garment reaching below the knees and tied together in front, with some other piece of clothing under it. The art of this scene is most crude. Above are two reclining elephants with fishes' bodies.

C. B. 8 The upper cross-bar of the 6th and 5th pillars has the same device as on the opposite side.

This completes the description of this section of the pillars and cross-bars, and the visitor will now commence with the pillar on the south of the main gateway.

In this section, there are six pillars with their cross-bars, and the first three of these are the only pillars of the railing that were found in position along with the adjoining pillar of the gateway.

P. 11 The 11th pillar (Pls. xii and xxxii, fig. 5) is sculptured in bold relief on two of its faces only, as, being a corner pillar, the other two faces receive cross-bars. It differs from all the others, except those having human figures, in the absence of a central medallion and of a semi-medallion below. The lower part of the pillar is occupied, on its northern face, by two dwarfs, and, on its western face, by three elephants carrying a Buddhist railing, on the top of which are three mounted elephants, to the north, and an equestrian figure, to the west. The hair of one dwarf is shaven over the forehead, and in both it is bound by a simple fillet. The group of elephants towards the north evidently represents a procession, carrying a relic casket. The central elephant, with the casket resting on

its head before the mahout, is of gigantic dimensions compared with the one on each side of it. The heads of the three elephants are ornamented with bands, and the large elephant with a string of beads, from which metal crescents are suspended. The dress of the driver is the same as that of the other figures already described, and it is interesting to observe that not only the goad but the trappings also are of the same shape as those in use at the present time. The horse, on the adjoining face of the pillar, is not nearly so well executed as the elephant, and the rider is out of all proportion to the animal. The place of a saddle is taken by a simple embroidered or quilted cloth, and there are no stirrups. The rein, as occasionally at the present time, was probably made of rope, and it seems to have been strengthened by being passed double through the ring opposite to the bit, which probably existed, as otherwise the head gear would be of little use. There is a nose strap, and at least two straps pass round the lower jaw. From the riding-cloth a string of disks and crescents, in all probability of brass, like those now in use in rural districts, passed in front of the chest, and another over the hind quarters. The legs above the knees are ornamented with a ring, and an exaggerated fetlock almost simulates one over the postern. The rider's legs are bare to above the knees, and his riding costume appears to have been a pair of short-drawers, tied round the waist with a band, another being passed down between the legs. He carries in his right hand a standard, the pole of which has a top resembling a bell-shaped capital, bearing a square object; a Buddhist railing resting on the top with a winged human figure above it carrying long garlands which fall down on the horse's head. On the face with the elephants, the pillar bears the following inscription: "*Vedisā Chāpa Devāyā Revati Mita bhariyāya pathama thabho dānam*," which is, "The first Pillar-gift of Chāpa Devā, wife of Revati Mitra of Vedisā."

- C. B. 23 The medallion of the adjoining *suchi* highest up (Pl. xxxvi, fig. 1) consists of a lotab holding three lotus seed capsules with leaves, the centre of the three bearing a figure of Lakshmi, with opposed hands, seated on it in the ordinary way, with the accompanying elephants. If there ever was an inscription it has chipped off. The medallion below this contains the bust of a woman (Pl. xxiv, fig. 4), represented engaged at her toilet, as she holds what appears to be a mirror or a brush in her left hand, and is arranging her headcloth with her right. The mirror or brush has a thick cylindrical handle by which she holds the reflecting surface or the body of the brush. It is oblong with its two corners rounded off, the outer surface being convex and the inner concave. The forehead of the figure is ornamented with a *ṭikulī*, and on her left cheek there is, in relief, the representation of an undoubted *añk'us* or elephant goad, exactly resembling those in the hands of the mahouts on the adjoining pillar. This bar did not originally occupy the place it now fills, as it belonged to the south-west quadrant. In General Cunningham's work on the Bharhut Stūpa, a photograph is given of a fragment of a female figure in which the same symbol or mark occurs on the left cheek. General Cunningham regards it as a tattoo mark, but it will be observed that it is in relief, and in this respect resembles the mark on the forehead, which is undoubtedly not a tattoo mark, but a piece of tinsel, like that used in the present day and known as a *ṭikulī*. This bar is inscribed "*Dhama Guta mātu Pusa Devaya dānam,*" "Gift of Pushya Deva, mother of Dharma Gupta." The lowest bar and the highest are both in position as they were found.
- C. B. 25
- P. 12. The central medallion of the 12th pillar (Pl. xxix, fig. 2) represents a tree decorated with garlands, with an altar in front of it and worshipers. On the altar there is the *chakra* or wheel of the law surmounted by the trisul, over which there is an umbrella, the top and sides of the altar being deco-

rated with flowers. A man and a woman kneel one on each side of the altar, the woman to the right, and behind her stands a man holding a small basket full of flowers, and scattering the blossoms with his right hand. Behind the kneeling man a woman is holding a garland, one end of which hangs over the lower branches. Below the medallion, there is the following inscription: "*Bhagavato-Vesabhuno-Bodhisālo*," "The Sāla Bodhi Tree of the Buddha Viswabhū," who was the fourth Buddha before Gotama. General Cunningham identifies the Sāla with *Shorea robusta*. Over the medallion are the words "*Bhadantasa Aya Bhūta Rakhitasa Khujati-dakhiyasa dānam*," "Gift of the lay-brother (Bhadanta) the reverend Bhuta-rakshita of Khujati-dakhiya." The upper half medallion represents a portion of a building consisting of a Buddhist railing and a verandah above it, with two arched ways, in each of which a person is standing, leaning on and looking over the railing on which are two birds, apparently domestic fowls. The part of the verandah, between the arches, is also occupied by two figures, while at each end there is a peacock with distended tail. The top of the pillar is finished off with a Buddhist railing.

C. B. 26 The 26th bar has its medallion wholly taken up with a humorous scene (Pl. xxxiii, fig. 2), consisting of a male elephant mounted by five monkeys and attended by three musicians of their species, evidently the common monkey, *Macacus rhesus*. The animal's trunk is tied so that it cannot be used; first a piece of wood has been placed on its inner aspect and bound to the trunk by its two ends, while a rope is thrown over the base of the trunk and passed between the forelegs to a cross-rope over the back and belly. One monkey is acting as mahout, and is prodding the elephant with a long-handled *ank'us*, at the same time evidently quarrelling and exchanging abuse with another of his fellows who has sprung upon the forehead of the elephant, and

is standing on a tusk by the base of the trunk. The impudent quarrelsome attitude of these two monkeys is admirably rendered. Behind the mahout there are other monkeys, one holding on to the driver, while the last of the three has caught hold of the tail of his friend before him and is pulling himself up on the haunches of the elephant, in approved fashion. A minstrel beating a tom-tom walks erect in front, followed by another with a similar instrument, while the last plays a wind instrument of some kind. This *suchi* is inscribed "*Vedisā Tabhuta Rakhitasa dānam*," "Gift of Tabhuta Rakshita of Vedisā." It belonged to the south-west

C. B. 27 quadrant. The medallion of the next cross-bar is the bust of a male figure holding a lotus flower in its right hand, and it is inscribed in two places, but both to the same effect; "*Isānasa dānam*," the "Gift of Isāna," the upper being probably carved subsequent to the lower inscription, as the carving is extremely rough and different from the carving that occurs generally on the railing.

P. 13 The 13th pillar has, as its central medallion, a slightly modified lotus, its sides being supported by two rather well-carved women of a large type each standing on a lotus flower and holding on with the right hand to a branch overhead. It is inscribed "*Aya Gorakhitasa dānam*," the "Gift of the reverend Gorakshita."

C. B. 29 The next upper medallion is a peacock with its tail fully extended, and with a hen pecking food on either side of it. This carving is exceedingly rude. It is inscribed "*Siri-*

C. B. 30 *masa dānam*," "Gift of Sirimā." Below, a medallion is occupied by a human bust and bearing the inscription "*Sangha Rakhitasa Māta pituna athaye dānam*," "Gift of Sangha Rakshita on account of his father and mother:"

C. B. 31 whilst the last of these bars is inscribed "*Bodhi Rakhitasa Panchanekāyāka dānam*," "Gift of Bodhi Rakhitasa of Panchanekāyāka."

- P. 14 The 14th pillar is an interesting one, as its medallion (Pl. xxv, fig. 1) is occupied by a hunting scene in a forest, in which deer are the quarry. The forest is represented by three trees, and from the circumstance that the landscape is sculptured obliquely on the medallion it is probably intended to portray a hill forest, with a stream running through it, as shown in the foreground. In the centre of the medallion, a stag is depicted lying down, while behind it are four does with their heads turned in the opposite direction from that of the stag, and from their attitude it would appear as if they were running away, the cause of alarm being a huntsman who has strung his bow, pulled it, and is just letting go his arrow at the stag, which is being pointed out to him by an attendant. Another scene appears to be introduced by the banks of the stream, on which three men are standing one behind the other, with opposed hands in a devotional aspect, while in front of them a deer is seen swimming in the water, with the head of a man appearing behind it as if he were swimming, holding on to the animal's back. To the left of this swimming stag, a doe or fawn is drinking, but it may belong to the former scene. This pillar is inscribed "*Pusasa thabho dānam*," "Pillar-gift of Pushya," and "*Miga Jātakam*," "The deer birth." It is, however, impossible to recognise in this scene any of the incidents in any of the already known deer Jātakas, unless it be the *Nigrodha-Miga Jātaka*, as suggested by Rhys Davids. In place of the upper half medallion, the top of this pillar is occupied with a human head with upraised hand holding a lotus flower and looking over a piece of drapery.
- C. B. 32 The medallion of the next upper *suchi* (Pl. xxxvii, fig. 3) is a device made up of a lotus flower, palm-leaves, and winged dog-like animals, the leaves springing from the lotus with a winged dog in the midst of them, on either side. The inscription is "*Budha Rakkhitaye dānam bhikkhuniya*," "Gift of Buddha Rakshitâ, the Nun." The middle medallion (Pl.
- C. B. 33

xxiv, fig. 5) is a female head and bust, holding up a lotus flower in the right hand. The head-dress is peculiar, as it is a tight-fitting, slightly peaked cap, with flaps coming down over the ears. The ear-rings are pendants resembling inverted cones. The inscription is below, as is frequently the case on these medallions, and it reads "*Purikayā Ida Devāyā dānam*," "Gift of Indra Devā of Purikā." The 34th medallion is a lotus and bears this inscription, "*Bhutaye bhichuniye dānam*," "Gift of Bhutā, the Nun."

C. B. 34

P. 15

The 15th pillar calls for no particular remark, as its medallion and half medallions are of the conventional lotus pattern, but it has, on its upper section, some unknown characters of the same description as those pointed out on a previous pillar, and which are called "*shell-characters*."

C. B. 35

The 35th *suchi* medallion is a monster made up of elephant, crocodile, and fish, and it is stated to have been the gift of Dhuta, "*Dhutasa Suchi dānam*." The medallion of the 36th bar is a human head and bust, and the 37th medallion is a modification of the lotus pattern.

C. B. 36

C. B. 37

P. 16

The 16th pillar is occupied by an erect female figure (Pl. xxiii, fig. 1), inscribed "*Sirimā Devatā*." General Cunningham remarks of this figure: "The title of *Srimā* was given to Mâyā Devi, the mother of Sākya Muni. I presume that it is an abbreviation of *Sri-mātā*, or the 'fortunate mother,' although it may also be a contraction of *Sri Mâyā*. The inscription is attached to a large female statue on one of the pillars of the south-west quadrant (this pillar). It seems not impossible, however, that the statue may be that of *Sirima*, the beautiful sister of the physician Jivaka," and famous courtesan at the court of King Bimbisara. A richly embroidered cloth covers her head, and her hair is worn brushed down flat with a little lock brought forward in front of each ear, as is seen in all the large female figures, and, on the left side, another thicker head-covering or

ornament, in five cords, appears from under the head-cloth. The only face ornaments are a *ṭikulī* on the forehead and a minute one on each cheek. She wears three elaborate necklaces, the uppermost one having a central oval gem, with a trisul-like ornament on each side of it.

- The visitor will now follow the opposite or eastern faces of these pillars and cross-bars. The 16th pillar has another nearly life-sized figure (Pl. XXII, fig. 2) opposite to Sirima, viz., Suchiloma Yaksha, who, like the previous Devata, was associated with Virūpaksha in the guardianship of the western quarter of Mount Meru. This figure is in the same attitude and dress as the other male guardians. The name of the figure is inscribed on the side of the pillar below the right arm, and the donor's name imperfectly above the right shoulder. The first reads "*Suchiloma-Yakho*," "The Yaksha Suchiloma," and the second " *ratā-bhikkuniya thabho dānam*," "Pillar-gift of the Nun . . . ratnā." Both of these statues are standing on Buddhist railings.

C.B.35-37 The faces of the three adjoining cross-bars are the same as those to the west. The lowest has the following inscription, "*Sihasa Suchi dānam*," "Rail-gift of Sinha."

- P. 15** The 15th pillar, and the three following *suchis*, can be passed without remark, beyond directing the attention of the visitor to the rather handsome pattern devised from semi-circles of lotus medallions, and its inscription "*Dabhinikāya Mahāmukhisa Dhita-badhikaya Bhichuniya dānam*," "Gift of the Nun Dhritabadhikā, the Mahāmukhi (?) of Dabhinika."

- P. 14** The medallion on the 14th pillar (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 3, and Pl. LVII) is one of considerable historical interest, as the scene represented is the purchase of the ground for the Jetavana monastery. Below the medallion there is the following inscription: "*Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭi santhātena keṭṭā*," "Anāthapindika presents Jetavana (having

become) its purchaser for a layer of Kōṭis." It will be observed that on the front of the rim of the medallion, and also on the left side, there is an inscription in each of these places; the uppermost is "*Gandha-Kuṭi*," the "*Gandha temple*," and the left side "*Kosambi-Kuṭi*," the "*Kosāmbi temple*" These two names evidently refer to the little temples in the medallions opposite to the inscriptions.

These two buildings, however, according to General Cunningham, would appear to have nothing to do with the main scene which lies to the right of them and of the sacred mango tree enclosed by a railing. In the right half of the lower part of the medallion, two bullocks have been unyoked, and the cart they have brought, and which differs but little from those of the present day, is tilted up, and a man at the back of it is unloading it, while another at his side is carrying away a package of coins on his shoulder, whilst two men beyond him, evidently labourers from their dress, are sitting down and covering the field with the gold coins, even close up to the trunks of three trees represented in this part of the scene, the only other tree being the sacred mango tree¹. To the left of the oxen and to the right of the sacred mango tree stands a male figure, evidently some important person judging from his dress, and this figure appears to belong to the scene to the right. Behind him another man is holding a vessel like a kettle, while to the left, between the buildings, there is a group of six persons, those in front being in a devotional attitude. The faces of these eight figures are all directed straight forwards, as if all their eyes were intently drawn to some object in front but not represented. I am therefore disposed to think that two scenes are depicted, that to the right having sole reference to the covering of the field with gold pieces, and that to the left to the reception of Buddha by Anātha

¹ General Cunningham describes four trees, besides the sacred mango, but three only occur in the sculpture and in the photograph.

Pinḍika at Jetavana. The foremost figure¹ of the medallion, and which holds some object in its hand, in all likelihood, is intended for Anātha Pinḍika, who is also represented in the figure in the centre of the medallion, the six figures to the left probably also belonging to this scene, which is seemingly intended for Anātha Pinḍika asking Buddha, "How, my lord, shall I deal with this wihāra?"—Buddha replying, "O householder, give it then to the order of mendicants, whether now present or hereafter to arrive;" and Anātha Pinḍika replied, "So be it, my lord," and brought a golden vessel and poured water on the hands of the teacher, saying, "I give this Jetavana Wihāra to the Order of Mendicants with the Buddha at their head, and to all from every direction now present or hereafter to come"², and so dedicated the first Buddhistic monastery. General Cunningham remarks that the insertion of the two temples of Gandha-kuṭi and Kosambi-kuṭi "in the scene, is an anachronism, as the temples could not have been built until after the purchase of the garden," and he goes on to say, "I have no doubt whatever that they are faithful representations of the two temples, which bore these titles, as far as the powers of the artist enabled him to reproduce them. The *Kosambi-kuṭi* is also mentioned in an old inscription which I dug up within the precincts of the Jetavana monastery itself early in 1864. This temple was, therefore, still in existence when the inscription was recorded

¹ General Cunningham says there are two men in front, each holding a very small object between his thumb and forefinger, and these two he took to be Anātha Pinḍika, and his treasurer counting out the gold, but there is only one front figure in the attitude described by General Cunningham, and he is certainly not counting out money, as he is standing erect, holding an elongated object in his right hand, probably a tally. The other two front figures are mere coolies unloading the cart and carrying the packets of coin away.

² Rhys Davids, who is quoted in the text, remarks that the above formula has been constantly found in rock inscriptions in India and Ceylon over the ancient cave dwellings of Buddhist hermits.

in the first century B. C.¹ The miraculous mango tree sprang from a mango stone, the fruit of which had been eaten by Buddha, who had received a cluster of four ripe mangoes from Gandamba, the head gardener of the King Kosol; and Buddha performed the miracle, as the Tirttakas having heard that a miracle was to be performed at Sāvatti, at the foot of a mango tree, had determined to prevent it and had purchased all the mango trees in and about the city. Buddha after having eaten the fruit gave the stone to Gandamba, and directed him to put it into the ground near where he was sitting, and washing his mouth, he requested his favourite disciple Ananda to throw the water over the place where the stone was sown; this being done, "the earth closed, a sprout appeared, and a tree rose with five principal stems²", . . . laden with fruit.

The following account of the founding of the Jetavana monastery is by Rhys Davids:³ "At that time the householder Anātha Piṇḍika, bringing merchandise in five hundred carts, went to the house of a trader in Rājagaha, his intimate friend, and there heard that a blessed Buddha had arisen. And very early in the morning he went to the Teacher, the door being opened by the power of an angel, and heard the Truth and became converted. And on the next day he gave a great donation to the Order with the Buddha at their head, and received a promise from the Teacher that he would come to Sāvatti."

"Then along the road, 45 leagues in length, he built resting-places at every league, at an expenditure of a hundred thousand for each. And he bought the Grove called Jetavana for eighteen koṭis of gold pieces, laying them side by side over the ground and erected there a new building." A further

¹ "Bharhut Stūpa," p. 87.

² Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 306.

³ Buddhist Birth-stories, or Jātaka Tales, p. 130.

account of the founding of this monastery is given in Spence Hardy's Manual of Bhuddism¹.

C. B. 29 The uppermost adjoining *suchi* has its medallion of this side
.B.30,31 the same as the other on the opposite face, while the two bars below it have plain lotus medallions.

P. 13 The central medallion of the 13th pillar has a lotus centre, the rest being occupied with small pointed leaves. In the upper half medallion a human bust has been substituted, appearing in a crescentic recess. The head-dress is peculiar, as the head is bound by a fillet, the long fan-like bow of which projects outwardly on the left; while the right hand is raised and holds the catkin-like spike of some plant or tree. A line of beads, or small bells, like those of the forehead ornament, called *sir bāndhnā* by up-country women, appears along the forehead and continues to the ears, while a large *ṭikulī* like ornament occurs on the cheeks, before the ears, as on the figure, "Chanda."

C. B. 26 The next cross-bar is the one which has a monkey and elephant scene on the other side, and on this face there is a somewhat similar medallion; but the monkeys are all on the ground, and the elephant is in the act of running, the mahout in front and five other monkeys in various attitudes, one running with a tom-tom, another lying on his back piping from a reed-like instrument terminated by a gourd, a third limping on a stick, a fourth holding on by a side-rope, and the fifth carrying a coil of ropes with some bells attached to it. The elephant has its trunk tied to its tail by a rope passed under its belly.

P. 12 The 12th pillar presents nothing worthy of remark, except the rough ornament filling up its central medallion, consisting of a series of zigzag lines crossing each other with intervening bead-like ornaments.

C. B. 23 The medallion of the uppermost of the next three *suchis*

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

contains a pagoda ornamented with lotus flowers and two bannerets with a man on each side of it.

This concludes the description of this part of the railing, and the visitor will now proceed to the three pillars on the right of the main entrance to the gallery, and these will be next described.

P. 17 The medallion of the 17th pillar is of a rather effective device, as it consists of a number of compact, spindle-like, leafy garlands tied together by their ends in a circle, the points of union being ornamented by a lotus flower, while the centre is occupied by a cross similarly made, with a lotus flower in the centre. Over each side of this medallion, there is a man on horseback, one horse standing on a half-opened and the other on a full-blown lotus flower.

C. B. 38, 40 The three following cross-bars have the outer circles of their medallions modified into a scroll in the uppermost, a jointed transversely lobed and beaded band in the middle, and a scroll-like garland in the lowermost medallion.

P. 18 The 18th pillar is much injured on this face, but bears a goose (*hansa*) with drooping head standing on a lotus bud.

C. B. 41-43 The three cross-bars to the right call for no remark.

P. 19 The last of the three pillars has its central medallion considerably modified from the ordinary lotus type. The middle is occupied by a small lotus medallion, but the large intervening space, between it and the outer border of the medallion itself, is occupied by four trisular bodies ornamented with a serrated pattern and in close apposition with each other, while a well-cut lotus bud fills up the interval between each trisul and between the three members of the symbol. These trisul-looking objects are repeated in necklaces, and profusely on the architrave. Above the medallion, this face of the pillar has some curious characters inscribed on it like those on the pillar of the gateway and rail pillars

already mentioned; and above the upper half medallion, there are two good figures of recumbent humped cattle.

P. 17 Turning now to the other side of these pillars, the 17th has a nearly life-sized representation, in bold relief (Pl. XXIII, fig. 3) of Chulakoka Devatā, or the "Little Koka," according to General Cunningham. The inscription towards the side of the pillar is "*Chulakoka Devatā*." She was associated with the Yaksha Wirūdhā in the guardianship of the dewa-loka Chāturmaharājika.

She is represented, in this sculpture, standing on an elephant under a tree which is believed to be *Saraca indica* in full flower¹. She grasps a branch above her head with her right hand, while her left arm is thrown round the stem of the tree, which is also embraced by her left leg and by the elephant's trunk². The figure is clothed with a transparent drapery from the waist to the knees, the garment, as in the present day, being gathered together and falling down in front in thick folds. It is fastened by a broad cloth waist-belt, and a metal girdle of six chains appears under the belt. The upper part of the body is naked. Her hair is parted in the middle, and a thick embroidered cloth covers her head and falls down over her back and shoulders. Her ornaments consist of finger-rings, bracelets, armlets, and anklets of two kinds. She wears a small *ṭikuli* on her forehead, huge square ear-rings, and a necklace of six strings of beads, interrupted in the middle by broad flat oblongs. A chain thrown over the shoulders and meeting in the middle below the breasts, where it is connected by a brooch, passes downwards and backwards over the hips. The ornaments have a wonderful resemblance to those of the present time, the head-dress being

¹ Although this is the most characteristic and prominent representation of a tree throughout the Bharhut sculptures, it is not mentioned by General Cunningham under "Trees."

² Dr. Mitra informs me that Hindu women of the present day encircle the stems of sacred trees with their limbs to ensure children

upper half medallion is a series of disks threaded together. The inscription on this pillar is "*Aya Chulasa Sutanikasa Bhoga vaddhanyasa adam*," which, as translated by General Cunningham, is rendered "Gift of the reverend Chula Saut-rantika, the increaser of enjoyment." (?)

Returning again to the entrance, the visitor will find the two following medallions on the wall to the right, and three pillar fragments and five inscribed cross-bars.

M. 1

The first medallion (Pl. xxx, fig. 4), 18 inches in diameter, represents a temple with two *Var* palms¹ (*Borassus flabelliformis*), growing in front of it. The temple consists of a balcony and Buddhist railing supported on seven pillars with Asoka capitals, like those of the gateway of the Bharhut railing itself. The balcony is covered by a roof with two arched recesses, in each of which there is a male human figure with ear-rings, bracelets, necklace, and an elaborate head-dress. On the roof are two ducks, each perched between conical ornaments.

M. 2

The second medallion (Pl. xxv, fig. 2) is a portion of a pillar, and measures about 21 inches in diameter. An elephant is represented walking by the side of a stream, with other elephants in the distance. A huge crab, however, has come out of the water and laid hold of the heel of the elephant. In the water, a duck is engaged swallowing a fish, whilst four fishes are swimming about, one evidently intended for *Calla buchamani* and another for *Ophiocephalus gachua*.

It is inscribed below "The Elephant birth," "*Naga Jataka*."

The following translation of this Jataka or birth-story is given by General Cunningham, who received it from the Buddhist priest Subhuti of Vaskraduve, in Ceylon:—

¹ The talipot palm was one of the beauty-marks on Buddha's feet, of which there were 216; 108 on each foot, and called "*Mangalya-lakkhana*."

the chief peculiarity. The features are short and broad, but the eyes have the almond character not unfrequently seen in Hindu men and women. The face, however, as a whole, does not recall a Hindu so much as an aborigine, such as an Oran woman.

C.B.38-40

The three cross-bars which follow have the outer ring of the medalion modified from the lotus petals to scrolls, winged lions and garlands, as on their other sides. The inscription on the middle bar is "*Jeta bhavasa danam*," "Gift of Jetabhara," while that on the third or lowest is "*Kadaya Yakhiya danam*," "Gift of Kanda Yakshi."

P. 18

The middle medalion of the 18th pillar has its centre occupied by a somewhat grotesque human bust with asinine ears, broken nose, puckered protuberant lips, and much-wrinkled skin. The hair is short and bound with a fillet. This pillar bears the following inscription in two lines: first "*Kanaya danam*," and second "*Pataliputra Naga Senaya Koda*,"—that is, "Gift of Naga Sena of Pataliputra," a descendant of Kaundinya."

C.B.41-43

The next upper and lowermost cross-bars have their medalions alike, and exactly resemble the first *suchi* of the last three, but the centre medalion is a plain lotus. They are all inscribed,—the first, "*Purikaya Ida Deyada danam*," "Gift of Indra Deva of Purika;" the second, "*Pataliputra Kodiyaya Sakaya Deyada danam*," "Gift of Sakaya Deva, of the race of Kaundinya of Pataliputra;" and the third, "*Avisanasa danam*," "Gift of Avisana."

P. 19

C. B. 43

C. B. 42

C. B. 41

As on its other face. Above the sides of the medalion a woman stands on a lotus flower, a similar flower hanging down from the sides of the upper half medalion, over the head of the woman to the right. The outer border of the Pataliputra, the Pall name of Patna, which was known to the Greeks as Palibothra.

"In times past when Raja Brahmadata reigned in Benares there lived in a certain pond a gigantic Crab. Near this pond, which was named after the Crab, there lived a herd of Elephants under a king or leader of their own. Whenever the herd went down to the pond to feed on the roots of the Lotus, the great Crab would seize one of them by the hind leg, and hold it fast until it died from exhaustion, when the Crab would feed on the carcass at his leisure. Now it happened at this time that Bodhisat was conceived in the womb of the Queen Elephant, who retired to a secluded part of the forest and in due course gave birth to the 'Discoverer of truth.' When Bodhisat grew up he chose a large female Elephant for his mate, and taking with him his mother and his mate, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Crab pond to pay a visit to his father. When Bodhisat heard that the Crab was in the habit of killing many of the Elephants that went down to the pond, he said to his parent, 'Father, charge me with the work of destroying this Crab.' But his father replied, 'Son, do not ask this—that Crab has killed many Elephants, therefore you must not go near the pond.' But arrogating to himself the dangerous task of killing the Crab, Bodhisat led a herd of Elephants down to the bank of the pond, and going into the water they all fed on the roots of the Lotus. On leaving the pond Bodhisat brought up the rear, when the great Crab seized him by the hind leg, and dragged him towards his hole. Then Bodhisat cried out for his life—and the herd of Elephants roared, too, through fear and fled away from the pond. Then Bodhisat cried out to his mate, 'O meritorious spouse-loving She-elephant, the big and bold-eyed Crab, who lives in this pond, has seized me by one of the hind legs, why therefore do you leave me?' Hearing this the female Elephant drew near to him and said, 'Keep up your courage for even if I were offered ten thousand *yojanas* of (land in) Dambadiwa, I would not forsake thee.' Then turning to

the Crab, she said, 'O gold-coloured one of great size, the King and Chief of all Crabs, I pray thee to let go my husband, the King of Elephants.' Then the Crab, moved by her words, and ignorant of danger, loosened his hold on Bodhisat, who no sooner felt himself free than he set his foot on the back of the Crab and crushed him. So the Crab died and Bodhisat roared with delight—and the rest of the herd trampling on the Crab, his body was crushed to pieces. But the two big claws still remained in the pond, from whence they were carried into the Ganges. Here one claw was caught by the Dasabâ Princes, who made it into a drum to be used at their festive gathering; while the other claw was carried down to the Ocean, where it was seized by the Asuras who made it into a drum to be played at their festivals¹."

- The fragments consist, as already said, of three portions of pillars and five cross-bars, all bearing inscriptions. They
- P. 20** begin at the west wall, and the 20th is the upper half of a pillar having the top half medallion filled by a mythical animal with the head of a tapir, the tail of a lion, and with hooved feet anteriorly, and claws behind. Above the figure there are two female antelopes. The stone is inscribed "*Vedisa Phagu Devasa dānam*," "Gift of Phalgu Deva of Vedisa
- C. B. 44** (Besnagar)." The next is a cross-bar and has the following inscription: "*Pāṭaliputa Mahidasenasa dānam*," "Gift of Mahendra Sena of Pāṭaliputra." Adjoining this, there is the
- P. 21** middle portion of a pillar, bearing in relief the trunk of a man whose right arm has been raised over his head, and his left arm bent up in front, holding some object—a position quite different from that of any of the other male figures in these sculptures. It is inscribed "*Bhojakatakāya Diganagaye Bhichhuniya dānam*," "Gift of the Nun Diganaga of Bhojakataka,"
- J. B. 45** and then follows another cross-bar inscribed "*Isi Rakhitusa dānam*," "Gift of Isi Rakshita."

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 52

- P. 22 Next in order, there follows part of another pillar, bearing the inscription "*Moragirihma Pusāyā dānam thabo*," "Pillar-gift of Pushyā of Moragiri," and alongside it there are
- C. B. 46 three cross-bars with the following inscriptions: "*Deva*
- C. B. 47 *Rakshitasa dānam*," "Gift of Deva Rakshita;" "*Phagu*
- C. B. 48 *Devāya bhichhuniya dānam*," "Gift of Phalgu Deva, the Nun;" and "*Nadinagarikāyā Ida Devaya dānam*," "Gift of Indra Deva of Nandinagara (Nander)."

On the left side of the entrance door, there are three other pillars with three cross-bars; and, on the north wall, a medallion and oblong fragment of another. The latter will be first described and the pillars afterwards:

- M. 3 The 3rd medallion (Pl. xxvii, fig. 10) represents a humped ox standing up to its loins in a pond covered with lotus flowers, while, to the right, a dog or wolf is represented seated on the bank of the tank watching the ox. Beyond, a wolf which has been caught in a trap by its left leg, is hanging up above the former, there being little attempt at perspective. The scene is not inscribed. General Cunningham in his illustrations regards the animal seated opposite the head of the ox to be a tiger, but in his description he speaks of it as a wolf¹. The subject is unknown.
- M. 4 The 4th medallion is the upper two-thirds (Pl. xxix, fig. 3) of a pillar. The middle is occupied by an apparently many-stemmed tree decorated with garlands, and with a masonry altar in front of it, on each side of which are the upper parts of the bodies of two kneeling figures, while, on the right and left of the altar, a man and woman are standing. The former holds a small cup, covered with leaves, in his left hand, which is raised to the level of

¹ General Cunningham calls the animals wolves because, he says, the wolf is afraid of water, while the tiger is not. I have had two wolves in confinement and both took freely to water; indeed, like the dog of the country, they used temporarily to lie in it during the heat of the day.

his shoulder, while, in his right hand, there is a mass of small flowers, to be strewn on the worshipers below. These two figures are dressed in the same way as all the male and female figures are generally represented on the railing. Above each side of the medallion, a female figure is standing on a lotus flower. This fragment is meant to represent the Bodhi tree, or tree under which the first of the four Buddhas, Kakusandha, attained Buddhahood, his tree being the sirīsa tree, *Albizzia lebbek*, Benth. The sculpture is inscribed above in two lines: "*Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi*,"—"The Bodhi tree of the Buddha Krakusandha."

P. 23 The first of the pillars on this side of the entrance has its upper portion broken off. On the central medallion facing the north we find a composition, much effaced, however, of lotus flowers, and two monkeys riding on the necks of monsters, combining parts of the crocodile, elephant, and fish. This pillar was one of the south-west quadrant. The medallions of the adjoining cross-bars are conventional representations of the lotus flower.

C.B.49-51

P. 24 The 24th pillar (Pl. xxxiii, fig. 4) is also broken. Its central medallion represents a monkey (*Macacus rhesus*) seated on a stool, and evidently holding a conversation with a man who is also similarly seated, the bust of a human figure, with the hands crossed over the chest in a devotional way, filling up the space between their feet. A tree occurs on each side of the medallion, and between the trees water is represented with fish swimming in it. The trees, on either bank, are full of monkeys, old and young, some of them on the right side of the medallion being represented eating. A natural bridge has been formed by a monkey. Its right hind leg is tied by a rope which is made fast by its other end to the tree on the left, the monkey grasping two of the branches of the tree to the right, to support its body, one-half of the space, between the trees and over the

water, being bridged by its body, and the other half by the rope. One monkey has just passed over the bridge and is descending the tree to the left. The monkey talking with the man is, however, on the opposite bank from that to which his companions are going. Another is in the act of crossing from the right, and he has proceeded as far as the rope over which he is moving very cautiously. Another monkey on the right is also preparing to cross. Below the monkey-bridge, and behind the seated man and monkey, two men are standing holding the four corners of a cloth, but whether with the object of breaking the fall of the monkeys, if any of them should chance to miss their footing on the bridge, or to act as a shade for the man seated under the tree, it is difficult to decide. Mr. Fergusson¹ has figured a scene from Sanchi in which all the foregoing details are given, with the exception of the human bust, but others are superadded, such as an archer shooting an arrow from his bow, and a man on horseback accompanied by musicians and soldiers. These additional elements in the scene are confined to the lower portion of the bas-relief, with the exception of the archer, who appears to be aiming at one of the monkeys overhead. Two men are holding up a cloth as in the Bharhut relief, but they stand behind the archer, and one of them looks upwards as if watching the effect of his arrow on the monkeys. As in the Bharhut medallion, the monkey bridging the water seems, in the Sanchi cast, to be tied by one of his hind legs to the opposite bank, and not to be held by another monkey as is shown in Mr. Fergusson's drawing, for in the cast the rope round the monkey's leg is distinctly visible. General Cunningham says that "the story of this animated scene is unknown to me, but I suspect that it represents the interview between Rama and Sugriva, King of the Monkeys." He seems, however, to have overlooked the details which

¹ Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 151, P. XXXVI, fig. 2.

have been mentioned above, as he does not refer to any of them.

Mr. Fergusson, also, in his description of the Sanchi cast, does not mention the monkey bridge, but makes all the interest centre round the archer, whom he regards as Prince Siddhattha as a youth undergoing the trial of the bow. The other accompaniments of the sculpture do not sanction this interpretation being put on it. Mr. Fergusson also states¹ that Mr. Beal is of opinion that the Sanchi bas-relief represents the Asadisa Jātaka, but this view does not seem to be tenable.

Below this medallion, on each side, there is a good representation of the small palm squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*), one on a custard-apple tree:

The remaining faces of the pillars and cross-bars call for no remark.

P. 23 The opposite side of the 23rd pillar is occupied by a life-sized female figure, in the same attitude as Chulakoka on the neighbouring pillar, the dress and ornaments being almost the same in both. Unfortunately, only the trunk of the tree remains, with the exception of two or three leaves which have a wonderful resemblance to those of *Ficus religiosa*. She is represented standing on the back of a horse, below the head of which is seated a dwarf resting on a curious kettle-like object. The stem of the tree is inscribed thus: "*Bhadanta Valakasa Bhānakasa dānam thabho*," "Pillar-gift of the lay-brother Valaka of Bhānaka."

C. B. 49 The uppermost cross-bar of the first two rails is inscribed
C. B. 50 "*Ati Mutasa dānam*," "Gift of Atrimuti;" the middle bar
C. B. 51 "*Isānasa dānam*," "Gift of Isāna;" and the lowermost "*Kā-kandiya Somāya bhikkhuniya dānam*," "Gift of the Nun Somā of Kākandi²." All the cross-bars have plain medallions on

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

² In the text of the Bharhut Stūpa two of these rails are said to be from the S. W. quadrant, whereas in P. LV they are labelled under the S. E. quadrant.

this side, *viz.*, simple lotus flowers; but the central medallion of each of the adjoining pillars is a floral device of considerable beauty and simplicity; the lotus flower forming the centre, surrounded with lotuses and other flowers, a human bust being introduced into the floral work of the most easterly medallion. Women standing on lotus flowers beneath trees occur on the sides of the pillars above the medallions, while pendant from the sides of the latter, below, are parrots in the case of one, and flowers in the next pillar. Two figures, each issuing from a lotus flower, occur above the half medallion at the base of one, and lilies in the case of the other pillar. These decorations of the lateral portions of the two faces of the pillars are common to all of them with slight modifications, so that they will not be again described unless any one of them calls for remark. The 25th pillar has an inscription on this face only, "*Karahakāṭa Samikasa dānam thabho,*" "Pillar-gift of Samika of Karahakāṭa," and it is said to have formed part of the south-west quadrant.

P. 25

The visitor will now proceed to the south end of the room, where there is a group of four pillars without architrave; and commencing with the most northerly, on its easterly face, it will be seen that the central medallion is a still further modification of the lotus which occupies the centre as a small medallion, the outer circle consisting of the sacred *hansa* in various attitudes. In the semi-medallion, above, there is a lion-like animal with a mane, and over it a recumbent mythical animal, half ox and half fish.

P. 26

C. B. 55

The upper cross-bar adjoining this pillar has a representation of what appears to be a pagoda with three recesses in front. The central recess is the largest, and its whole breadth is occupied by an altar decorated with flowers, behind which is the stem of a tree, which again appears above in front of the pagoda. In the side recesses, which are narrow and from the arches of which hang garlands, a semi-circular object lies

on the floor of each. From the character of the arches and the outwardly projecting ends of the beams that support them, the structure represented was in all likelihood made of timber. Each recess is separated from the central one by an octagonal pilaster. Almost on a level with the top of the arches of these recesses, a Buddhist railing surrounds the stūpa; and the tree, the stem of which is seen below, divides into a number of branches, and its leaves and fruit show it to be the pīpal, *Ficus religiosa*, the Bodhi tree of Gotama. The pagoda, which has a number of small recesses around it, would appear to have been built at this level on a platform enclosing part of the trunk of the tree, and the altar thus in front of the trunk must be a Vajrāsana, or throne of Buddha. Outside, to the right, is a *stambha* or lāṭ, with a bell-shaped capital surmounted by an elephant; but this monolith and the temple itself are enclosed by a second Buddhist railing external to all. In its arrangement, and especially in the relation of the tree to the recess below and to the pagoda, one is reminded of the famous temple at Buddhā Gayā built over the spot on which Gotama attained Buddhahood. On each side of the temple, two male figures stand in a reverential attitude. The two to the right are smaller than those to the left, but evidently they are full-grown men and are half the height of the building, while the others are still much higher. This Bodhi tree is intended

- C. B. 56 to represent Buddha. The 56th bar, the medallion of which has a scroll in its outer border, has the following inscription: "*Atankhataśa Bhojakatakasa Suchi dānam*" "Rail-gift of Bhojakataka of Atangkhata," or "of Atangkhata of Bhojakataka." The lowest bar is a lotus flower in a vase, and it bears the following inscription: "*Sangha Mitasa Bodhichakasa dānam*," "Gift of Sangha Mitra of Bodhi Chakra."
- P. 27 The 27th pillar is imperfect, and the central medallion is only a floral device, but a modification of the ordinary type,

as the lotus flower is in the centre, the medallion having a broad outer border of a lotus stem and flowers. This pillar is inscribed thus: "*Karahakaṭa Chayabhutakasa thabo dānam*," which is "Pillar-gift of Chayabhutaka Karahakaṭa."

C. B. 59 The middle cross-bar of the next series consists of a man seated, holding in each hand a lotus stem which issues from his navel. The lowest bar has the following inscription: "*Samidatāya dānam*," "Gift of Samidattā."

P. 28 The 28th (Pl. XIX) is a corner pillar of the northern gate, but the lower third has been lost. The upper portion of this face of the pillar consists of the front aspect of a private residence with its gateway, from which issue an elephant and its rider whose right hand is uplifted. To the right of the gateway, four figures are standing in a hall, under a wooden balcony, its right side being defined by a large pillar with a bell-shaped capital. The foremost and principal figure of the four has also his right hand uplifted, while his left hangs down by his side holding a small object between his thumb and first finger. The other figures stand on his left in a line on a Buddhist railing, each holding a basket, the first filled with little round bodies, the second with coins, and the third with an offering of necklaces and collars. The scene below this is limited on each side by an octagonal pillar with a bell-shaped capital, but its lower part has been broken off. The upper part is taken up with four elephants in a line, each elephant with a large bell hanging down before each front limb. The figure, on one of the elephants to the right, is holding up a basket with coins, and between the two elephants to the left an umbrella appears and between the two central elephants a human head and a *chauri* are seen. Below the line of elephants, an elephant is kneeling beside a Bodhi tree, the *pīpaḥ*, which has a vajrāsan in front of it bearing an umbrella. The throne is decorated with flowers and has two human hand-prints. The head of a

man appears behind the tree, and as if he were issuing from it; but he is holding the elephant down with his *ank'us* and is evidently the mahout, the figure kneeling at the side of the vajrāsan being his master, behind whom are four men in a devotional attitude. These scenes doubtless represent the visit of some distinguished person to Buddha, who is indicated by his Bodhi tree. In the centre of this last scene, the following words occur, "*Brahma Devomanavako*," the meaning of which General Cunningham says is unknown.

On the southern face of this pillar (Pl. XVIII), four scenes are apparently represented, and General Cunningham describes them in the following order: uppermost scene; second scene; lowermost scene; and, lastly, middle scene; and he considers them all to refer to the Vidhūra-panākaya Jātaka. Here, however, they will be described from below upwards. The first scene is probably laid in a court-yard, as a gateway is situated to the left under which a horse stands all ready caparisoned; a man looking from the narrow side-entrance to the gateway. In the court-yard, a man is seated on a cushioned stool, evidently at a table; but beyond this the sculpture is imperfect. Overhanging the court-yard is a verandah or balcony, evidently of wood, with spectators looking out between the supports of the roof and from two arched recesses. The seated figure can be recognised by his ornaments in the scene above, as also where he is seen riding his steed. The next scene lies immediately above the roof of the building below, which is inscribed "*Vitura Punakiya Jātakam*," "The Vidhūra (and) Pūnnāka birth." At the lower right-hand corner, half of a horse and rider are seen with another figure behind the man on horseback, and whom he is holding round the chest, as his hands are visible in front. The lower parts of the forelegs of the horse are hidden behind the roof of the building of the lowermost scene, the sculptor's intention having evidently been to produce the appearance as if

the horse were rising in the air. It will also be observed that the trappings of this horse are exactly the same as those of the animal in the hall below, and are like those of the horse to the left, which is rising still further upwards, springing by his hind feet from off one of the small ornamental pinnacles of the roof, while the man, who clasped its rider in the scene to the right, is now holding on by the horse's tail. The upper portion of this, the middle compartment, is occupied, in the right upper corner, by a man holding another by the heels and suspending him head downwards over a rocky precipice, on which trees are growing. In the left corner, two men are standing side by side, also on rocky ground, one with his left hand uplifted. This group General Cunningham regards as the Pundit Vidhūra and the Yaksha Panākaya. In the scene below the uppermost, the court-yard and gateway of the lowermost scene are almost exactly reproduced in all their details; but the horse is absent. A man is entering by the narrow side-door to the gateway, while in the court-yard a Nāga and his wife are seated together, the former apparently on the knee of his spouse, who sits on a *chārpāī*, or on a backless chair of some kind. They are indicated as Nāgas by the five-headed snake over the man's head, and the single cobra head over that of the woman. Before them stand two men, one behind the other, and both with their hands opposed reverentially. General Cunningham supposes the principal standing figure to be the Yaksha Panākaya, but in the two previous scenes in which the Yaksha appears he wears the same ornaments on both occasions, while this figure has entirely different ornaments. Above, there is another Buddhist railing, over which there is the following scene: the upper portion of a house, including part of the roof and an arched recess or window out of which looks a woman's head, while to the left, in front of rocks and trees infested by tigers, as is indicated by the tiger's head peering out of a cave,

stand a man and a woman on each side of a tree. General Cunningham considers that all of these scenes illustrate the *Vidhūra-Panūkaya Jātaka* ; but certain discrepancies between the written account of the Jātaka and its portrayal on stone have yet to be cleared up. The Jātaka refers to a time when the last Buddha was Pandit of King Dhanajaya of Indrapatta (Delhi), and had a wide Indian reputation for wisdom and religiousness, he being an ardent exponent of the Righteous Law (Sudharma). On one occasion, he was consulted in a controversy that had arisen between four men of the city of Kālāchampā, in the country of Anga, in a grove where they were performing a religious observance. One of them was Dhanajaya, the Norava king, and the other the king of the Nāga world. The latter was so pleased with the wise advice of the Pandit that he bestowed on him his throat gem. The Nāga king, however, on returning to the Nāga world, was asked by his queen Vimala what had become of the gem, and he having explained to her that he had bestowed it on the Pandit as a gift in recognition of the good he had derived from his exposition of the "Righteous Law" and in admiration of his sage counsel, the queen's curiosity was aroused, and she desired so much to listen to the preaching of the Pandit and to see him that she thereupon informed her husband she would die, unless the heart of Vidhūra were brought to her. Hearing this, the king became sorrowful, as he did not know how to meet his queen's wish; and his daughter, Irandati, noticing her father's dejectedness, enquired the reason of it, and was informed that the only way her mother's life could be saved was by Irandati finding a lover who would bring to her the heart of Vidhūra. As became a Nāga maiden, she at once took means to find a lover, and dressing in beautiful attire she betook herself to the Kalagiri mountains, among the rocks and forests of which she played sweet music to attract a lover, and in this she succeeded, as

a Yaksha called Panākaya fell in love with her and received the consent of the Nāga king to his marriage with his daughter if he brought Vidhūra into the Nāga world. Panākaya, as became a dutiful lover, at once resolved what to do, and mounting his aërial horse of the Savindhava race went straight to the Vipulla rock, where he obtained a gem with which he enticed the confirmed royal gamester Dhanajaya to gamble, his minister Vidhūra being staked against the gem. The king lost, and the Yaksha Panākaya carried off Vidhūra, making him hold on by the tail of his aërial horse. He made for the Himalaya, where he intended to destroy the Pandit by dashing him against the trees and rocks and then to carry his heart to his betrothed. Failing in this, he caught the Pandit by the heels and tried to hurl him down from the top of the mountain called Kālagiri, but in this also he was unsuccessful, owing to the great merits of Vidhūra, who, calmly addressing the devil, asked him what object he had in view in trying to destroy him. It is related in the account of this Jātaka that the Pandit was aware that the Nāga queen did not in reality wish him killed, but that her object in wishing to see him was to hear his preaching. The Pandit therefore resolved to instruct Panākaya, the devil, in the righteous law or ways of righteousness, and making known his wish, the devil at once placed him on his feet on the rock, and listening was so delighted that he proposed to carry back the Pandit to Delhi, but Vidhūra persuaded him to carry him to the Nāga world, where he might preach the law to Vimāla, the Nāga queen. This was done; the Nāga queen recovered, and the Yaksha Panākaya was rewarded for his fiendish attempt by the hand of Irandati, and the Pandit, receiving from Panākaya his wonderful gem, was carried back by him to his native city Indrapatta (Delhi). The lowermost scene probably represents the gambling of Panākaya and Dhanajaya, and the horse in the gateway may be the aërial

steed of the Yaksha, whereas the lower section of the scene above is undoubtedly meant to delineate the Yaksha carrying off the Pandit, hanging on to the tail of his horse. The attempt to destroy the Pandit by hurling him down from the top of Kālagiri is doubtless the scene above, and the two figures to the left represent the Pandit standing by the side of the Yaksha, and teaching him the Sudharma or excellent law of Buddha, the precepts of which he enforces with his upraised hand. The scene above this is undoubtedly laid in Nāgaloka, but who the standing male figures are it is difficult to say, as neither of them agrees with the figure of the Yaksha in the other scenes¹. The uppermost scene General Cunningham supposes to represent the Yaksha listening to the music of the Nāga maiden.

B. 61-63 The adjoining cross-bars call for no remark.

P. 29 The last pillar of this group was a corner pillar of the south gate (Pls. XIII—XV). Its southern face is divided into three bas-reliefs, the lowermost one being a scene in which elephants are the principal actors; the middle, the worship of the Bodhi tree by Nāgas; and the uppermost, the visit of Raja Prasenajita to Buddha. Below, these scenes are supported on the hands and heads of human dwarfs seated among rocks. The centre of the first is occupied by the Bodhi tree of Kassapa, *Ficus bengalensis*. Before it is a throne strewn with flowers, and, on either side, three elephants, one of them to the right being a very young animal, are bowing down and offering garlands, while two men stand in a reverential attitude in the rocky background. There are three inscriptions on and below this scene. On the railing below the throne the words "*Bahu 'hathiko*," occur, according to Dr. Hoernle, viz., "of the many elephants," and on the throne, in two lines, "*Bahukathiko nigodho naḍḍode*," which means "the Nyagrodha-tree (called

¹ See Hoernle, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI., p. 25 et seq.

that) of the many elephants, under irrigation;" while a third inscription will be found above the men's heads and to this effect: "*Susupālo Kodāyo Vetiko arāmakō*," which Dr. Hoernle translates thus, "and Susupala (and) Kōṇḍāya; the Vēṭika (egg plant) garden," these being the names of the spectators and of the garden in which the whole occurrence represented in the sculpture took place." Above this relief, there is another Buddhist railing, and on its fourth pillar from the right there is the inscription "*Erapato [nā]garājā*," "Airāvata, the Serpent king" which refers to the bas-relief immediately above it, and in particular to the foremost figure rising out of the water, and behind which are two Nāgañi. Immediately before the former figure, on the lower third of the sculpture, the words "*Erapato nāgarājā bhagavato vadate*," are engraved, which are translated as follows by Dr. Hoernle: "Airāvata, the Serpent-king, worships the Blessed One."

The most prominent object in this scene is the *A. lebbek* tree hung with garlands, and with an altar before it. To the right of the tree and altar, there is a sheet of water covered with lilies, but divided from right to left by a narrow path across which two wild ducks are flying, and on which two trees are growing, three other similar trees appearing at the lower margin of the sculpture. From the piece of water immediately in front of the throne and tree, the afore-mentioned figures are emerging, the front figure bending forwards towards the tree with his hands in the attitude of devotion. These figures are Nāgas, as the male figure has a five-headed cobra over his head-dress, and the two women, mother and daughter, each a single-hooded snake. In the adjoining section, a large five-headed cobra rises out of the pond¹, with a woman over it, but on her head there is no

¹ General Cunningham says the snake is evidently rising from the ground, but there can be no doubt that water is the element out of which he comes,

cobra; while on her left hand a male figure, is also rising from the water. The woman has an object in her left hand like a *chauri*, and the man holds his right hand outwards. The concluding scene is the Nāga Raja kneeling in devotion before the throne in front of the acacia tree,—that is, before Buddha. The story is that in the time of Kassapa Buddha, the third Buddha of the Mahābhadrā Kalpa, Airāpata was condemned to assume the form of a snake until the fourth Buddha, Gotama, of the Kalpa should appear on earth. Airāpata having heard that Sākya Muni had attained Buddhahood, at once resorted to the six *Siri* or acacia trees, where Buddha Gotama was seated, and had no sooner done so than he reassumed his human form. The snake rising from the water is doubtless intended for Airāpata, and it is probable that it is introduced to make plain what the simple sculptor may have thought was not fully explained in the group below, *viz.*, the sudden conversion of the snake-like Airāpata into human form, so that the event of his rising from the water is twice rehearsed, once as a snake and again in human form with a snake on his head, to indicate who is represented and the connection between him and the figure worshipping in front of the tree. But this interpretation is incomplete, as it leaves out of consideration the woman over the cobra and the male figure beside her¹. The tree must be regarded as having an unseen Buddha seated beneath it, and the late Prof. Childers remarks that in this sculpture “we have here a striking confirmation of Mr. Beal’s theory, that the Nāga King is worshipping an invisible Buddha seated beneath the tree².” Writing in 1874, Prof. Beal had said, “The more I study these groups the more I am convinced that the altar, so called, represents the seat or throne

and which one would have expected to find, as water is the element of the Nāga, as earth is of the Yaksha—a fact General Cunningham mentions in his account of the Nāgas.

¹ See Beal *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI. p. 50.

² “Academy,” 3rd April 1875.

on which Buddha was seated under the Bo tree when he arrived at complete enlightenment, and that the people engaged in worship are in part worshipping Buddha, although not represented by any figure, for we know no figure was made of him for some centuries after the rise of his religion."

The bas-relief above is partially separated from the scene below by a Buddhist railing, the latter being incomplete to the right, owing to the space being required by the sculptor for the introduction of a part of the story to be told. At the right-hand corner there is the gateway of a palace with the inscription "*Rājā Pasenajī Kosalo*," which is "King Prasenajit of Kosala." These few words evidently refer to the figure emerging from the gateway with two horses in front of him, and, to the left of the gateway, he is, as it were, seen clear of the entrance driven in his two-wheeled chariot drawn by four richly caparisoned horses, with elaborately plaited manes and huge head-plumes. The harness is very simple, a mere strap in front of the chest of the horses, supported by another across their backs, but double in its connection with the traces. The two middle horses, it will be observed, are secured across their necks by a transverse band. It is not shown how the reins were attached to the horses' heads, but they are held by the driver on the king's left. Only four of the ribbons, however, have been delineated, and as it would have been difficult to have shown the other four, passing to the left pair, only one of them has been carved. General Cunningham has described the charioteer as driving, but Dr. Hoernle, in his "*Readings from the Bharhut Stupa*"¹, says: "The leader of the procession is not a footman, but a horseman; and he is not followed by one, but by *two* footmen. Again, I do not think that the charioteer is one of the three servants about the king, but, as usual, the Rājā himself, who sits in front;.....The reins, however, are not represented as actually in the hands of

¹ "Antiquary," Vol. X, p. 118 *et seq.*

the Rājā, but as fastened to the splashboard of the carriage, close to the Rājā's left hand. As the procession is moving at a slow pace, there would be no need to hold the reins." But Dr. Hoernle has mistaken what is represented, *viz.*, the charioteer grasping the reins of either side, in each hand separately. The action of the two men, in front of the chariot horses, is essentially that of running; their elbows are drawn up to their sides, and their forearms and bodies are thrown forwards, so that the procession is moving at a trot, at least, and the reins are held fast, and do not lie loose on the splashboard. Besides the charioteer, the king is attended by a man carrying an umbrella and another waving a *chauri*. The left hand of the king rests on the splashboard and his right hand is upraised. The chariot, as it was pulled by four horses, was doubtless of considerable breadth, and the section where the charioteer stands was probably to the left of the king. Another chariot of this description, also with four horses, occurs in the Muga-pakhaya Jātaka. It will be noticed that the long tails of the horses, in both of these chariots, are tied up to the traces. In front of the running grooms, there is a horseman preceded by another, and from the action of his horse and the way the scarf thrown over his shoulder is represented flying behind him, the procession is evidently intended to be represented as moving with some life. Above the chariot, and to the right of the horseman, there is a building with the following inscription on its roof "*Bhagavato dhamachakam*," that is, "The wheel of the Law of the Blessed One," and in the centre of the building a sacred wheel is represented, with an umbrella over it and garlands hanging over the nave, a man standing in a devotional attitude on each side of it. The procession is represented winding round the building; and appearing on the right hand there are the heads of two elephants and their mahouts, evidently the first part of the procession. The *Punya Sala* in which the "Wheel of the Law" is enshrined, consists of two portions; first, a

hall or quadrangular chamber of no great dimensions, with a Buddhist railing around and below it, and containing the symbol; and second, a verandah above with a central recess and a wing at each side with an arched window or door in which hangs a garland. The roof is arched from the centre to the eaves and has a series of small pinnacles along its ridge.

P. 29 The west face of this pillar has three distinct bas-reliefs on it. The uppermost is a stūpa separated from the scene below it by a Buddhist railing. The stūpa is bell-shaped, the lower portion or rim of the bell having a plain moulding with a simple floral ornament above it. Over this, there is a rim-like projection, above which, there is a Buddhist railing with an architrave of the same character as of the external aspect of the Bharhut architrave. This railing appears to be quite close to the stūpa and to form part of it, and this seems probable from the circumstance that two long banners are fixed as it were between it and the stūpa itself, and also from the fact that two worshipers are engaged in their devotions outside of it. The domical portion of the stūpa is ornamented with garlands, and on its summit there is the so-called capital, consisting first of a square Buddhist railing, supporting a small shrine with a double arched recess in it, between two pillars, its roof consisting of four tiers increasing in size from below upwards. A structure much similar to this, from a rock-cut Dagoba at Bhājā, is figured by Fergusson and Burgess in the title page of the "Cave Temples of India" as a capital or *tee*. Above the present capital, there are two unmistakable umbrellas, one above the other, decorated with garlands, a lotus flower occurring on either side of the stem of each umbrella and three lotus rosettes above the topmost, over which are two figures in the air strewing garlands and flowers, one of them having angels' wings. In the background, there are three trees, and, in front of two, a group of men in the attitude of adoration. On the left side, there is a fine monolithic pillar with a bell

shaped capital surmounted by lions. This is probably a representation of the Bharhut Stūpa itself.

The next scene consists of two figures, a man and a woman, standing between two octagonal pillars with bell-shaped capitals, the following word being inscribed between their heads, "*Kadariki*," which General Cunningham does not translate. The woman is standing on the left side of her husband, and one hand rests on his shoulder, while the other is raised to her own shoulder and holds a bird, but unfortunately its head has been knocked off. Her husband's left hand is in front of his chest, and holds a small flower-spike of some plant or tree. His right hand hangs by his side, and, between his thumb and first finger, there is a small round object. These figures are separated from the next relief, below, by a Buddhist railing. This sculpture represents a man and a woman, evidently the same figures as in the scene above, as the likeness of the man is undoubtedly the same in both, but they are both presented in entirely different attitudes and surroundings. The background consists of rocks; and, in the right upper corner, there is a tree from which a shield and scabbard are suspended. There is a figure resembling that of an Union Tack on the former, the lower border of which is trisular. A banner, with a similar design, is carried by a man on an elephant in a fragment of a pillar let into the west wall of the gallery. In the left hand corner, "*Vijati vijadhara*," is inscribed, meaning, according to Dr. Hoernle, "the Vidyādhara unravelling" or (unwinding his head-dress). The Vidyādhara were "superhuman beings possessing the knowledge of magic arts, and residents in the Himalaya Mountains." The woman is seated on some leaves on a flat rock, and in her right hand which is upheld, there are three round objects resembling cones, possibly the fruit of *Anona squamosa*. Her husband the Vidyādhara is standing and adjusting his head-dress.

They appear to be the same couple represented in the two scenes above.

- P. 29 Turning now to the northern aspect of this pillar, the upper portion of it is seen to be occupied by a *pīpal* tree, below which is a temple, and it will be observed that the trunk of the tree passes down through, or behind the roof of the temple, to an altar, below, placed in front of it. The roof of the temple is inscribed according to Dr. Hoernle "*Bhagavato Sukumunino bodho*," which he translates "The bodha-tree of the blessed Sâkyamuni." General Cunningham supposes this bas-relief "to be an actual representation of the shrine that surmounted the famous Bodhimandâ at Bauddha Gaya," and he observes that if his supposition be correct, "we have before us a very fine specimen of Indian architecture of the time of Asoka, and one of the most sacred objects of Buddhist worship." On the second floor, the front of which consists of a Buddhist railing, stand two men, one on each side of the tree, and of gigantic size compared with the other figures represented. The right arm of each is extended upwards above his head, holding the end of the *du-paṭṭā* that is thrown over the right shoulder. The end of the cloth appears as if it had been thrown upwards in exaltation, in the religious act they are engaged in; but Dr. Hoernle thinks they are employing themselves in knocking down fruit from the higher branches of the tree. Each of these figures has its left hand applied to the mouth, and it will be noticed that the figure to the left holds a small round object to its lips, between the thumb and first finger. Dr. Hoernle supposes that the men are represented in the act of eating the fruit of the tree, perhaps as a work of religious merit. The upper portion of the tree is covered with fruit, while the branches within reach have been almost stripped. The tree is hung with garlands, and two umbrellas occur high up amongst its foliage. . On either side of it, in the air, is a winged human figure with the tail,

hind limbs and claws of a bird, and therefore a Gandharva, an enemy of the Nāgas. One of these figures is holding a garland, while the other appears to be throwing down small flowers out of a little bowl-like vessel held in the left hand. Below this, there is the inscribed roof of the temple and a balcony of four recesses, each containing an umbrella, and either lateral recess having two attendant female figures. It will be observed that the roof of the shrine of the throne or *vajrāsan* in front of the trunk of the sacred Bodhi tree, is supported by six pillars with bell-shaped capitals. The trunk of the sacred tree has an ornamental band around it and some other decorations, and the upper surface of the throne, which was simply a flat slab of stone, is covered with flower offerings, doubtless made by the worshipers kneeling on either side of it, a man to the left and a woman to the right. To the right of the woman a man stands with opposed hands, and close beside the kneeling man there is a woman with her right hand upraised and holding some small object in it, while in her upheld left hand there is the same cone-like fruit in the hand of the woman, in the previous bas-relief. These fruits are growing on a tree in the scene immediately below, and they occur on the pillar on which the medallion containing Māyā's dream is represented, and are probably custard apples. The front of the throne has four bell-shaped pilasters, and on its upper surface, at each corner, rests a chakra or wheel of the law surmounted by a trisul or triple gem symbol. This scene rests on a Buddhist railing, and in front there is a gigantic monolithic pillar with a bell-shaped capital bearing an elephant carrying a garland in its trunk. The foregoing scene represents the worship of the Bodhi tree and *vajrāsan* or diamond throne of Śākya Muni¹.

¹ Some of the gems with which the throne was adorned are exhibited in the Museum along with portions of the tree, which is as sacred to the Buddhist as the wood of the cross of Christ is to certain of his followers.

An inscription occurs on the pillars of the railing below each of the kneeling figures, but neither of them has been translated by General Cunningham; but Dr. Hoernle¹ gives the following rendering: "*Purattthimam disam suddhārāsā devā,*" which he translates, "to the eastern (or right-hand) side (are) the gods of the pure abode," and "*Uttarām disam tñi samvattāni sīsāni,*" that is "to the northern (or upper) side (are) three heads turned towards each other." These inscriptions and their bearing on the bas-reliefs will be considered after all the latter have been described. The bas-relief, below, consists of two double rows of men, one above the other, with their hands opposed in the attitude of reverence, their *du-pāṭṭas* carefully arranged to fall over each arm in front. At the left lower corner, a man is seated in native fashion on a rock and holds some peculiar object in his right hand, and behind him there is a tree bearing the afore-mentioned cone-like fruits, and another and similar tree is introduced between the shoulders and heads of the middle figures of the two double rows of men, and it will be noticed that the two figures, on the left of the lower row, are Nāgas. The base of the monolithic pillar of the scene above is prolonged downwards into this scene at the upper right-hand corner, and standing in front of it there is a stout male figure, quite different from any of the foregoing men and holding up on his head a basket-shaped object, probably of symbolic meaning. Below this figure there is a tree. On the Buddhist railing below this sculpture, two of the pillars to the right are inscribed, but the meanings of the words are not given by General Cunningham. Dr. Hoernle, however, has attempted a rendering of them, and he gives the actual letters as follows: "*Dakhinam disa chha kāmāvacharasa hasāni*" and the correct reading as "*Dakkhinam disam chha kāmāvacharassa hassāni,*" which he translates "to the southern (or lower) side (are) six amusements of the pleasure world."

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

The scene below consists of four women dancing in pairs, one before the other, with a child also dancing between the pair in front. To the left of these dancers, there is a group of eight female musicians, seated beside a tree and led by one of themselves, who is beating time with her hands. Six of them are so seated that they almost form a circle, but the seventh has the appearance as if she were sitting in the centre of the circle facing the woman who is beating time and who sits a little out of the circle. Instruments are in the hands of all the other figures except this one and the leader, but from the attitude of this woman she also is evidently a musician, like the others. Three instruments are stringed like harps, and there are also a tom-tom and cymbals. The posturing of the dancers is that of nautch-girls. The manner in which the hair was worn by these musicians is well seen in the figures, which are sitting with their backs towards the visitor. It seems to be bound with a broad figured fillet and to be either ornamented with beads or covered above with another cloth, and to hang down below these on the back, either in two, or in a number of plaits. Three inscriptions occur on the background of this relief, also one on the pillar to the left and another on two of the pillars of the Buddhist railing, below the bas-relief. The first of these will be found to the left of the head of the uppermost dancer to the left, and it has been read by Dr. Hoernle, "*Subhadā achharā*," that is, "Apsaras Subhadra;" the second lies between the heads of the two uppermost dancers, and is "*Padumāvati achharā*," which is "Apsaras Padmāvati;" the third is carved between the bodies of the two foremost dancers and reads "*Alambusā achharā*" or "Apsaras Alam-bushā;" and the fourth is found on the right-hand pillar forming the lateral border to the bas-relief and is "*Misakesi achharā*," or "Apsaras Mīsrakeśī." General Cunningham observes that the names are easily recognised as those of four of the most famous of the heavenly courtesans, namely,

Misrakesi, Subhadrā, Padmāvatī and Alambushā. The last was the mother of Rāja Visala, the founder of Vaisālī¹. On the Buddhist railing below the scene, Dr. Hoernle gives the following as the letters that occur: "*Sādikasammadam turnam devānam*," which he translates "the music of the gods gay with dancing;" but he observes that this translation does not quite satisfy him. General Cunningham, when he first saw the scene, was under the impression that the tree which is sculptured in the upper corner to the left was the Bodhi tree, and that the scene represented the temptation of Sākya Muni by the Apsarasas; but he is now disposed to regard the sculpture as referring to "one of the common scenes enacted before the *Devas* (*devānam*) in Indra's heaven²" Dr. Hoernle is of opinion that "there can be no doubt that the object of the legends really is to explain in detail the three groups of the amusement scenes over which they are inscribed." He, however, allows that the two inscriptions below the uppermost bas-relief "to the eastern (*or right hand*) side (*are*) the gods of the pure abode," and "to the northern (*or upper*) side (*are*) three heads turned towards each other," are somewhat removed from the groups to which they refer, and as the inscriptions on the Bharhut sculptures in other instances, without exception, refer to the sculptures immediately below, above, or on which they are cut, it is highly improbable that these two inscriptions refer in any way to the lowermost scene on this face of the south pillar. The words "*right hand*" and "*upper*," as signifying eastern and northern, are inserted by Dr. Hoernle to explain his application of the legends, but his grouping of the figures on the bas-relief itself is strained and unnatural, as is also his application to them of the inscription he quotes, so far as the eight female musicians are concerned. The child or dwarf is essentially a member of the group to which the

¹ "Bharhut Stūpa," p. 134.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

Apsarasas belong. "On the *upper* left-hand side, there are three sitting figures, turning their heads towards each other, and engaged either in singing or, perhaps, in gambling," but if *three* is a group separate from the eight, it is a group of five and an inspection of the sculpture will make it apparent that there is only one group of musicians, and that they are all evidently playing musical instruments, except the leader at their head. Two of them, to the left, have harps, one with ten strings over which she is using a plectrum, and another musician by her side is similarly employed. Dr. Hoernle's application therefore of the two legends below the worship of the vajrāsan and Bodhi tree to this scene does not seem to be substantiated by the sculpture itself.

The three adjoining cross-bars call for no remark, beyond a
 C. B. 61 notice of their inscriptions; the first, commencing from above,
 C. B. 62 is "*Mita Deraye dānam*," "Gift of Mitra Deva;" the second
 is "*Bhāḍantasa Mikasatha Rākuṭiyasa dānam*," "Gift of the
 C. B. 63 lay brother Mikasatha of Rākuṭiyā"? and third "*Aya Jāto
 Sepetakino Suchi dānam*," "Rail-gift of the reverend Jāta
 Sepetaki." The uppermost of the next series is not given in
 General Cunningham's work.

C. B. 59 The next middle bar has an interesting medallion and is inscribed "*Laṭuwā Jālakam*," "The Laṭuwā (quail) Birth." The following story in explanation of the scene is given by General Cunningham on the authority of Subhūti, the learned Buddhist priest of Ceylon:—

"In days of yore when Brahmādatta was Raja of Benares, Bodhisatta was born as an Elephant, and was the leader of 80,000 other Elephants, it happened that a *Laṭukika* built her nest on a certain pathway, and laid her eggs in it. One day when she was sitting in her nest watching her young ones who were still unable to fly, she was frightened by the appearance of Bodhisatta attended by his herd of 80,000 Elephants. Seeing the imminent danger to which her young

brood were exposed, she straightway flew towards the leading Elephant Bodhisatta and besought him to save her young ones from being crushed under the huge feet of his herd. Moved by the earnest appeal of the mother bird, Bodhisatta stood over her nest until all the Elephants had passed by. He then left himself, first warning the bird that a *Solitary* Elephant of savage temper would shortly come by this way, and might do her little ones some harm. As one danger often succeeds another, the poor *Latukika* was not yet relieved from her fears, but was still dreading the approach of an enemy whom no entreaties might move. Then seeing the Solitary Elephant approaching she flew towards him: 'O noble Elephant who livest in the forest, I adore thee with my two wings, and humbly beseech thee to spare my young ones who have only just escaped from a threatening danger.' But her prayer was in vain, for the savage Elephant, unmoved by her entreaties, answered, 'what can a poor thing like you do if I should harm your young ones?' And trampled them to death with his left foot.

"Then the heart-broken *Latukika*, alighting on the branch of a tree and brooding on revenge, exclaimed, 'You shall see what a weak little bird can do against thy boasted strength.' So she then became assiduous in her attentions to a Crow, who when he heard her story promised to peck the eyes of the Elephant as a reward for her services. In a similar way she secured the services of a Flesh-fly and a Frog. Then the Crow pecked at the eyes of the Elephant, and the Flesh-fly laid her eggs in the wounds, which soon made him blind. Lastly, the Frog, who had taken up his position on a hill, allured the Elephant by his croaking to believe that water was near. Then descending the hill he croaked again, and the Elephant attempting to follow him fell headlong down the rocks and was killed. Then the *Latukika*, seeing the Elephant lying dead at the foot of the hill, alighted on his body and walked

to and fro, and being fully satisfied with the completion of her revenge flew away."

C. B. 55 The uppermost cross-bar of the last series is a representation of a portion of a temple, Pl. xxxi, fig. 4, the ground floor being occupied with four wide recesses, the lower half of each being filled with a broad masonry platform or altar, the upper surface of which is decorated with flowers, while impressions or outlines of the human hand are carved on the front of each altar. The two central altars have each four impressions, the altar to the left five, and that to the right only three, and, in the roof of each recess, a garland hangs down over the altar. The recesses are not arched, but the roof, common to all, is supported by five pillars, each with a bell-shaped capital. The second storey consists of a verandah with a Buddhist railing, with three arched recesses, the middle being placed over the central pillar below, and each lateral one directly over its fellow under it. The roof is supported by plain octagonal pilasters. The pinnacled roof is arched like the roofs of the temples of Mahāvallipur, figured by Fergusson and Burgess¹, and the gables are also arched. This medallion has also been figured in the "Cave Temples of India" as a representation of a hall². General Cunningham describes it as a temple containing the thrones of the four Buddhas. It is inscribed on the roof of the temple, "*Siriya-pulasa Bhārini Derasa dānam*," "Gift of Siri's son, Bhārini Deva." It has the projecting beams and the simple structure generally characteristic of wooden buildings.

P. 26 The east face of the 26th pillar has a medallion, of which the centre is a badly executed and rather repulsive bust of a woman in a concave disk, the border of which is encircled by a rope-like ornament. External to this, there is a flame-like ornament, in reality a modification of the ordinary

Cp. cit., p. 112, fig. 25.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 47, fig. 10.

lotus petals, while the border of the medallion consists of a series of squares strung together by a beaded cord. Above the medallion there is the inscription "*Bibikāna Dikaṭi Suladhāsa Asavārikasa dānam*," which means "Gift of Dihshita Suladha, the Asavārika¹." The upper half medallion contains a fully accoutred riding-horse, held by a man at its head, whose only clothing is a short garment tied round his waist, while another man, very rudely carved, is seen at the horse's tail, but with his back towards the spectator, and holding a short spear. His hair seems to be peculiarly dressed, a broad object standing out on each side, behind his ears, or perhaps the two flaps are intended for ears. The horse-gear is much the same as on the horse on the pillar at the gate. Above, there are two mythical animals, combinations of elephants, crocodiles, and fish.

The visitor will now return to the screen at the gateway, from whence the description of the scenes and ornamentation of the architrave of the railing will commence. The outer side of the architrave has uniformly one character, *viz.*, a line of small lotus rosettes, so to speak, with a stem of the lily running round and between them, giving off at intervals, leaves and buds partially opened forming a very effective and pleasing style of ornamentation. Above these lotus flowers there is a raised line, over which runs a line of half-expanded lotus flowers, each flower alternating with a series of blocks, four in number, placed one over each other, and resembling a miniature step-pyramid². Above these, there is simply the arched upper surface of the coping. Under the lotus flowers, there is another line to which a narrow knotted net is tied, one inch and a half in breadth and from which bells and little cones are suspended. At each gateway, the inner side of the

¹ *Aswār*, *Sawār* or horseman is suggested by General Cunningham as the probable meaning of this word.

² An exactly similar kind of ornament will be observed in the friezes from the Ananta and Rānī Naur Caves of Orissa, on the neighbouring wall.

architrave carried a seated mythical animal like a lion, but, in the present portion, only the hind quarters of the figure have been preserved, but fragments of the head of another

A. 1 are in the gallery. The lion, Pl. XXXIX, fig. 2, is succeeded

A. 2 by an elephant, from the mouth of which issues the stem of a lotus, which is prolonged along the front of the architrave in wide undulations, giving off leaves and flower-buds at intervals, the spaces between the undulations having two distinct characters, a story in bas-relief alternating with a group of fruits,

or women's ornaments, the former being generally in the undulations which are open above, and the latter in those over which the stem of the lotus bends. The elephant's trunk, in this coping, is thrown upwards and holds a garland,

while a second short lotus stem, with two leaves, issues from his mouth, and it is interesting to observe how the sculptor has adapted the leaf of the lily to the introduction of garlands which fall down from it in a very natural way. A disk,

covered with rounded points, also hangs out of the animal's mouth. Small disks of this kind, or others consisting of a series of concentric circles, and also small lotus rosettes are a very favourite style of ornamentation and occur in great numbers on the coping. The first four undulations are an

exception to the general arrangement pursued with regard to the stories, as here they occur one after the other. It will also be remarked that, whilst very many of the other birth stories, on other parts of the architrave, have an inscription above them, stating what they illustrate, the bas-reliefs on the screen are all uninscribed. This is probably due to the inscrip-

tion having been lost, the stories being imperfect. The four scenes which follow, General Cunningham considers as forming one story, and this is highly probable, as it will be observed that the various stories on inscribed portions of the architrave are usually separated from one another either by a group of

A. 3-6 ornaments, by fruits, or by an animal. The first bas-relief,

A. 3 ornaments, by fruits, or by an animal. The first bas-relief,

- Pl. XL, figs. 1 to 5, is regarded by General Cunningham as representing only one scene, whereas it seems to be two distinct scenes referring to one woman, who appears in the next three scenes. A tree hung with garlands occupies the middle of the relief, and, to the left of it, the woman is reaping some corn, and, on the right of the tree, she is seen cooking it in an earthen vessel with a lid, on an earthen fire-place or *chālā*, like that in use at the present time. In the next scene, two men are seated and are being served by a woman, evidently the same as in the previous scene, for behind her is the vessel in which she cooked the grain which she reaped and is now placing in heaps before the two men, on large nearly flat dishes. There can be no doubt but that the two seated figures are men, and that neither of them is a woman, as supposed by General Cunningham, as they are both dressed like men. It may be that the man to the left may represent a separate scene, and that the story relates only to a man and a woman, and to their conduct represented in the third scene, in which the same man and woman are shown feeding two naked children, a boy and a girl, who are represented lying flat on their backs, in a very sprawling attitude, on mattresses with a pillow beneath each, while, in the following sculpture, a man and a woman, doubtless they of the preceding incidents, are being carried off, by the hair of the head, by two large birds. It is highly probable that these bas-reliefs may represent the murder of two children by their parents as supposed by General Cunningham. Following this, there is a small fragment, Pl. XXXIII, fig. 5, in which two men are fighting with a troop of the common monkey (*Macacus rhesus*), but the greater part of the sculpture has unfortunately been broken off. A man has got on the back of one monkey, so that the proportions are quite unnatural, while another man has thrown a monkey, which, however, still grasps him by the legs, but is being knocked over by the man either with a

large stone or with a fruit. Succeeding this, a group of ornaments is suspended from the opening leaf of a lotus, the

A. 9 principal ornaments being two trisuls. Next follows a scene, Pl. xxvii, fig. 14, in which a man and a woman, accompanied by a dog, are standing in front of some houses, the gables, star-shaped windows, or ventilators of which, are visible in the background, and conversing with a priest who carries an open umbrella and his wooden sandals in his right hand, and a pole in his left over his shoulder, and at the end of which he has hung a water vessel. His right shoulder is uncovered, while his cloth is thrown loosely over his left shoulder exactly in the manner the Burmese Phongyees dress at the present day. It will be observed that his hair is brushed back in short wavy masses, much in the same way that the hair of Buddha is represented in the Ghāṇḍāra sculptures, and gathered up in a top-knot. Both the man and the woman are standing in a reverential attitude before this figure, which is undoubtedly that of a priest. After a consideration of the group, it would appear that the man and the woman were inviting a travel-wearied Buddhist priest into their house, and that the dog had some part in the story; but General Cunningham describes the fragment as the "*Dasaratha Jātaka*," and regards the priestly figure as Prince Bharata and the man and the woman as Rāma and Sitā, and attaches no importance to the introduction of the dog. The connection that General Cunningham has attempted to establish between this scene and the foregoing Jātaka will appear after the perusal of the Jātaka, which is rather a long story, but it may be condensed as follows:—King Dasaratha's second principal queen having asked the kingdom for her son Bharata, to the exclusion of Rāma and Lakkhana, the children of his first queen, these sons, on the advice of their father, betook themselves for safety, accompanied by their sister Sitā, to the Himāvanta forest, where they built a hermitage. There, Rāma, on the represen-

tation of his father, was waited on by Lakkhana and Sitā. They had been told, on leaving their father's court, to return in twelve years, which was to be the limit of his life according to his astrologers, and, after his death, to raise the regal umbrella and to seize the kingdom. On the death of king Dasaratha, after nine years, owing to grief at the banishment of his sons and daughter, the mother of Bharata attempted to place her son on the throne of his father, but the ministers declined, and said that the master of the umbrella resided in the forest. Bharata, therefore, resolved to go and bring back Rāma, but Rāma refused as the twelve years had not expired, and on being pressed by Bharata to return as king he took off his shoes, and giving them to Bharata said, "until I return, my shoes shall reign." The shoes were carried to Bārānasi and reigned for three years until

- A. 10 Rāma's return. Continuing along the architrave, the next group is one of ornaments, a large bracelet coil being suspended from the leaf of a lotus; then follows the figure of a man, somewhat effaced, sitting on a stone, after which come two fruits of the jack tree; and then follows Pl. xli, fig. 5, a man seated on a cushioned stool at the side of a house with a woman and man standing on the other side of it, holding up some objects in their hands. It is impossible to say to what this group refers, but General Cunningham has a suspicion that the seated figure is Rāma and the other two Sitā and Lakkhana.
- A. 14 This part of the coping, fig. 6, finishes with a group of ornaments.

The visitor will now proceed to the northern end of the architrave, near the entrance to the gallery, from which point the description of the various birth-stories, &c., will begin.

- A. 15 The first figure is a mythical animal with a prehensile upper lip, a mane, lion's tail, cloven hoofs anteriorly, and claws behind.
- A. 16 Two custard-apples, Pl. xlvii, fig. 2, fill up the next undulation, after which follows a recumbent ox, fig. 3, which is

being offered straw by a young person in front of it, alongside of whom stands a man ; some spare space in the undulation being filled up by two coiled bracelets. Over the scene there is the inscription "*Sujāto-gahuto Jātaka*," which General Cunningham translates, "Birth (of Buddha) as Sujāta, the Bull-inviter." The story was told by Buddha to emphasize his counsel to a son who had been bereaved of his father : "It is to no purpose to weep for the dead." The Jātaka is given in Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism¹ as follows :—

"In a former age, when Brahmadata was king of Benares Bódhisat was born of a wealthy family, and was called Sujata. The grandfather of Sujāta sickened and died, at which his father was exceedingly sorrowful; indeed his sorrow was so great, that he removed the bones from their burial-place, and deposited them in a place covered with earth near his own house, whither he went thrice a day to weep. The sorrow almost overcame him; he ate not, neither did he drink. Bódhisat thought within himself, that it was proper to attempt the assuaging of his father's grief, and therefore, going to the spot where there was a dead buffalo, he put grass and water to its mouth and cried out, 'Oh, buffalo, eat and drink!' The people perceived his folly, and said, 'What is this, Sujāta? Can a dead buffalo eat grass or drink water?' But without paying any attention to their interference, he still cried out, 'Oh, buffalo, eat and drink!' The people concluded that he was out of his mind, and went to inform his father; who, forgetting his parent from his affection for his son, went to the place where he was, and enquired the reason of his conduct. Sujāta replied, 'There are the feet and the tail, and all the interior parts of the buffalo, entire; if it be foolish in me to give grass and water to a buffalo, dead, but not decayed, why do you, father, weep for my grandfather, when there is no part of him whatever to be

¹ Page 110.

seen?' The father then said, 'True, my son, what you say is like the throwing of a vessel of water upon fire; it has extinguished my sorrow;' and thus saying he returned many thanks to Sujāta.

"This Sujāta Jātaka is finished. I, Buddha, am the person who was then born as the youth Sujāta."

- A. 18 After this Jātaka, an ornamental space is followed by a
- A. 19 compartment, Pl. XLVII, 5, inscribed "*Biḍāla Jātara*;" "*Kuk-kuta Jātaka*."—"The Cat birth."—"The Cock birth." The scene is a very simple one. A cock in a tree, a cat sitting on the ground looking at the cock. The story was told by Buddha to warn a priest against the love of women, who by their persuasion "conquer men and cause them misery." The story is thus told in General Cunningham's work¹ by Subhūti, the Ceylonese priest: "In days long past when Brahmadata reigned in Benares, Bodhisatta was a Cock living in the forest with a large brood of fowls. At the same time a she-Cat was living close by who had already eaten many of the fowls, and was now intent on getting hold of Bodhisatta himself," and with this object in view she offered herself to the Cock as his wife, "saying, 'O king of fowls, with strong wings and red comb, I wish to become your wife.' But the Cock suspecting treachery replied, 'We are birds and you are a quadruped, every one should take a wife from his own kind.' Then the Cat rejoined, 'You must not say so. I will serve only you, and if you still doubt me let the contract be made before all the people of Benares.' But Bodhisatta said, 'Your wish is not to serve us, but to get hold of my fowls and myself.'" After Buddha had told the story he said: "O priest, had that Cock fallen in love with and lived with her, his death would have followed. In like manner if a man falls into the hands of a woman his life will be in danger. But if he escapes the fascination

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

- of woman, like the Cock who got rid of the Puss, his fate will be happy. At that time I Bodhisatta was the Cock." The
- A. 20 next compartment, within the undulations of the lotus stem, is occupied by a cluster of mangoes, and is followed by a curious
- A. 21 scene, 21, the centre of which is a long masonry altar decorated with flowers, and with the impress of six human hands in front. Four lions are standing behind the altar, and five men to the right of it, and one to the left, while, in front, two enormous human heads, one of them with large canines, are looking up out of the ground, and, between them and the altar, there is a pile of burning faggots, from which a snake and lizard have come forth. It is inscribed "*Dadani kamo chakamo*," which General Cunningham translates, "Punishment of Works Region" (?); that is, the place of punishment, or Hell,"
- A. 22 one of the eight recognised by Buddhists. The next space, 22, has some very effective ornaments sculptured in it, suspended in the favourite fashion from a lotus leaf. The most prominent is a bracelet, and two others are neck pendants of trisular form, a shape evidently much in vogue in those days, as it is frequently repeated. The next undulation, 23, contains
- A. 23 two trees, in one of which a woman is seated, whilst below it is small pack (three) of jackals, looking up wistfully at her. Close to the tree, a man is lying asleep or dead. The inscription above is "*Asadāvadhususane Sigāla nati*," and General Cunningham supposes it to be the original version of the story of Rāma, Rāja of Benares, and the princess Priyā. The following is the story as told in Spence Hardy's work:—¹

"The queen mother Priyā (of whom we have spoken in connection with the founding of the city of Kapilawastu), was seized with the disease called *svēta-kushta*, or white leprosy, on account of which she was obliged to reside in a separate habitation; and her whole body became white like the flower

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

or the mountain ebony, kopalila. This disease was so infectious that even those who merely looked at her might catch it; and as the princes themselves were in danger of taking the infection, they took her to a forest near a river, at a distance from the city, in a chariot with drawn curtains. A hole was dug into which they put her, with fire and fuel, and all kinds of food; after which they went away weeping. The hole was of sufficient size to afford every necessary accommodation for the princess. It so happened that Ráma, the king of Benares, was seized by the same disorder, and the disease was so malignant in its type that neither the queen nor his concubines could approach him lest they should be defiled. As the king was thus put to shame, he gave the kingdom to his son, and retired into the forest, thinking to die in some lonely cave. After walking about some time he was overcome by hunger, and ate of the root, leaves, fruit, and bark of a certain tree; but these acted medicinally, and his whole body became free from disease, pure as a statue of gold. He then sought for a proper tree in which to dwell, and seeing a kolom with a hollow trunk, he thought it would be a secure refuge from the tigers. Accordingly he made a ladder, sixteen cubits high, by which he ascended the tree, and cutting a hole in the side for a window, he constructed a frame on which to repose, and a small platform on which to cook his food. At night he heard the fearful roaring of wild beasts around; but his life was supported by the offal left by the lions and tigers after they had eaten their prey. One morning a tiger that was prowling about for food, came near the place where the princess was concealed; and having got the scent of human flesh he scraped with his paw until the earth that covered the cave was removed, when he saw the princess and uttered a loud roar. The princess trembled with fear at the sight of the tiger, and began

to cry. As all creatures are afraid of the human cry, the tiger slunk away without doing her any injury. The cry was heard by Rāma as well; and when he went to see from whom it proceeded, he beheld the princess. The king asked who she was, and she said that she had been brought there that she might not defile her relatives. Rāma then said to her, 'I am Rāma, king of Benares; our meeting together is like that of the waters of the rain and the river; ascend, therefore, from the cave to the light.' But Priyā replied, 'I cannot ascend from the cave; I am afflicted with the white leprosy.' Then said the king, 'I came to the forest on account of the same disease, but was cured by the eating of certain medicinal herbs; in the same way you may be cured; therefore at once come hither.' To assist her in ascending, Rāma made her a ladder; and taking her to the tree in which he lived, he applied the medicine, and in a little time she was perfectly free from disease.

"When the princess was thus restored to health she became the wife of Rāma, and in the same year was delivered of two sons. Then, for the space of sixteen years, she had two sons every year until the number amounted to thirty-two."

A. 24-26

A. 27

Three ornamental spaces follow the last, and then a scene, Pl. XLIII, 2, inscribed, "*Isi migo Jātaka*"—"Rishi-deer Birth." Rhys David remarks that this story has not yet been found in the Jātaka book. The scene consists of a ruminant standing by the side of a tree, a man with an ordinary metal axe over his shoulder, feeding the animal with his other hand. The animal is a male, but as the bases of the horns only are shown, owing to the head being close to the upper border of the architrave, it is difficult to determine what species is represented. Another set, 28, of trisular ornaments follows, and then a scene, 29, inscribed, "*Miga Samādaka chetiya*"—"Deer and lions eating together

A. 28

A. 29

chetiya (?)” This bas-relief consists of a tree in the centre, with a rock or a rude altar in front of it, six antelopes (which are determined as such, by the spiral horns of the males) before it, and two lions to the right. One antelope is eating the leaves of the tree, and a female is lying down in front of the rock. After this comes a space, 30, filled with

A. 30 two garlands; then follow two elephants, 31, and after them

A. 31 a group of mangoes, 7. The next scene, 33, represents a

A. 32, 33 hexagonal house, to the left, with an arched roof of corresponding shape, a black buck lying in front of the house, and a man stooping over the antelopes holding it down with one foot and by one horn; another man is standing on the right of the fallen animal, evidently talking to the other man and pointing with his finger. The man stooping over the antelope has a peculiar high spiral head-dress, and his only garment is a plaited kilt around his waist. This sculpture is not inscribed, but General Cunningham interprets it thus: “the actors are a Rishi, a hunter, or a shepherd, and an antelope in a forest near the Rishi’s hermitage. The antelope is lying down with its head stretched out and resting on the ground, apparently as if bound, while the Rishi is about to plunge a knife into the back of its neck. The hunter, or whoever the other may be, has both his fingers raised as if expostulating with the ascetic, who, from his dress, must be a fire-worshiper.” Only one arm of the Rishi is visible, and, as has been said, it is grasping one of the horns of the antelope, which has been mistaken by General Cunningham for a knife, but no knife can be detected. That the stooping figure is a fire-worshiper is probable, and his dress is exactly like that of the Rishi in the *Isi-Singa Jātaka*.

A. 34 Two groups of pendant strings of pearls succeed this scene, 34, this portion of the architrave finishing off with a bearded

A. 35 centaur, 35, with a lion’s tail, a figure which, in its general characters, recalls allied figures in Assyrian monuments.

The next section of the coping bears an inscription at its beginning, "*Aya Nāgadevasa dānam*"—"Gift of the reverend Nāga Deva," so that the whole of the coping of the south-east quadrant was probably presented as the gift of Nāga Deva.

- A. 36-38 The elephant in this architrave is preceded by a lion. The
- A. 40 first scene represents a man and a woman, the latter in front of the former, holding on by two strong ropes, tied between two undulations of the lotus stem, and evidently intended to indicate that the ropes bridge a chasm between high rocky banks, over which the figures are crossing. The
- A. 41 story is not inscribed. In the next interspace, a *hansa* is figured standing on the flat surface of the seed capsule of the
- A. 42 lotus. Anterior to this, there is an elephant with what seems to be a relic casket on its head, and the mahout reclining behind it at his ease, having hung his *ank'us* on to the elephant's ear, while, on the hinder quarters of the animal, there is another figure, seemingly that of a man carrying a banner, but the faces of both riders are much injured, having been apparently chipped away. This bas-relief bears no inscription. Before this there is a group of the *jack* fruit preceded
- A. 43 by a centaur having the horse and lion-like features of
- A. 44 the figure previously described. In front of this, there is
- A. 45 an ornamental group with pendants from lotus leaves, and then the following scene, Pl. XLVIII, 2, which is inscribed,
- A. 46 "*Magha Deviya Jātukam*"—"The Magha Deva Birth." The principal personage is seated in a large arm-chair, with an attendant on either side, and his hair hanging down loosely. By the side of his chair, there is a conical object serving as a table, and on which a basin rests with an instrument of some kind lying on it and evidently having reference to the toilet arrangements of the seated figure, whose attention is called to some feature of his hair, by the attendant to the left. This is what the sculpture itself makes known, and by the inscription we are told that the bas-relief

depicts "the Makhā Deva Jātaka¹." Makhā Deva was a king and "a righteous man, and ruling in righteousness. Eighty-four thousand years he was a prince, as many he shared in the government, and as many he was sovereign. As such he had lived a long, long time, when one day he said to his barber, 'My good barber, whenever you find grey hairs on my head, let me know.'

"And after a long, long time had passed away, the barber one day found among the jet-black locks one grey hair; and he told the king of it, saying, 'There is a grey hair to be seen on your head, O king!' 'Pull it out, then, friend, and put it in my hand,' said he. So he tore it out with golden pincers, and placed it in the hand of the king. There were then eighty-four thousand years of the lifetime allotted to the king still to elapse. But, nevertheless, as he looked upon the grey hair he was deeply agitated, as if the King of Death had come nigh unto him, or as if he found himself inside a house on fire. And he thought, 'O foolish Makhā Deva! though grey hairs have come upon you, you yet have not been able to get rid of the frailties and passions which deprave men's hearts!'

"As he thus meditated and meditated on the appearance of the grey hair, his heart burned within him, drops of perspiration rolled down from his body, and his very robes oppressed him and became unbearable. And he thought, 'this very day I must leave the world and devote myself to a religious life!'

"Then he gave to the barber a grant of a village whose revenue amounted to a hundred thousand. And he sent for his eldest son, and said to him, 'My son! grey hairs have appeared on my head. I am become an old man. I have done with all human hopes; now I will seek heavenly things. It is time for me to abandon the world. Do you assume the

¹ Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 186 *et seq.*

sovereignty. I will embrace the religious life, and dwelling in the garden called Makhā Deva's Mango-park, I will train myself in the characteristics of those who are subdued in heart.'

"His ministers, when he formed this intention, came to him and said, "What is the reason, O king! of your giving up the world?"

"Then the king, taking the grey hair in his hand, uttered this verse—

'These grey hairs that have come upon my head
Are angel messengers appearing to me,
Laying stern hands upon the evening of my life!
'Tis time I should devote myself to holy thought!'

"Having thus spoken he laid down his sovereignty that very day, and became a hermit; and living in the Mango-grove of Makhā Deva, of which he had spoken, he spent eighty-four thousand years in practising perfect good-will towards all beings, and in constant devotion to meditation. . . ."

And when the Blessed One had thus told the double story, he established the connection, and summed up the Jātaka as follows: "The barber of that time was Ananda, the prince was Rāhula, but Makhā Deva the king was I myself."

- A. 47 In the adjoining compartment, 47, there are a number of
A. 48 trisular ornaments, and in the next, 48, a devotee is seated on a stone with four human figures sitting in front of him. The devotee has his hair done up in the manner of a fire-worshiper, and he sits with crossed legs enforcing his prelections with raised right hand. The other figures have their hair dressed after the manner of women, simply brushed back and tied in a large loose knot behind, but, on close inspection, they are seen to be very hideous, and to have well-grown beards, whiskers, and moustaches, in the case of the three whose faces are visible. All of them are either holding out their first finger, or first and second fingers of one or of both hands, as if repeating some prayer and emphasising their words by

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the action of their hands. Between the group of seated figures and a tree, there are two round bodies side by side, resting on an object which has a resemblance to a *Yoni*. The inscription over this bas-relief, according to General Cunningham, is "*Digha-tapasisise anusasati*," which he takes to mean "Dirgha-tapas instructs his female disciples;" but Dr. Hoernle says it should be "*Dighatapassi sise anusāsati*," that is, "Dīrghatapas instructs (his male) disciples," which has this recommendation that it agrees with the figures in the sculpture which are all men. Dirghatapasas was one of the followers of Niganthanātha, a *Tirttaka*. "The tirttakas do not take life, nor cause others to take life, nor do they approve of those who take life; they do not steal, nor cause others to steal, nor approve of those who steal; they do not lie, nor cause others to lie, nor approve of those who lie; they do not indulge in evil desire, nor cause others to indulge in evil desire, "and in these they agreed with Buddhists." The followers of Niganthanātha did not drink cold water at any time; all the water that they drank was made warm; because they thought that in small drops there are small worms, and in large drops large worms; even if a person's bile overflowed, he was not allowed to drink any water but warm, nor wash his hands and feet in any other, though by so doing his disease became greater, and it was necessary for its removal that cold water should be used. When they could not procure warm water, they drank rice gruel. Still, if they had a desire to drink cold water, though they neither asked for it nor made any movement to obtain it, they thereby became subject to be born again¹. . . ."

A. 49 A necklace ornament, 49, fills the next compartment, and
A. 50 beyond this, 50, there is an episode inscribed, according to Dr. Hoernle, "*Abode chātiyaṃ*"²—"The chaitya on (Mount)

¹ Spence Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," pp. 276-277.

² Dr. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Abu." General Cunningham's description of the bas-relief is as follows:—"In the centre stands a tree to which three elephants are paying reverence." There is, however, more than this in the sculpture, as, from the rocks to the right, a stream is seen running down to a sheet of water below, in which the nearest elephant stands and is throwing water, over his body, out of his trunk. On the banks of this piece of water, there is an altar in front of the tree, and the elephant next the tree seems to be holding a garland in its trunk.

- A. 51, 52 After a jack-fruit, there is another scene, 52, in which a Rishi, probably the same of the preceding bas-relief, is again seated in front of his house on a stone or rock, over which has been laid a mat or skin. Seated to his left, on the same rock, there is a woman who is conversing with him, and a common monkey joins in the conversation, squatted on the ground before the Rishi. A man approaches, on the right of the monkey, presenting to the devotee what appears to be a bundle of sticks or perhaps lotus stems, and behind him stands his elephant. The introduction of the monkey, bearing in mind the part that these animals play in the *Nalapanā Jātaka*, seems to connect this story, in some way, with that Birth-story and with the other two scenes which follow on this coping.
- A. 52 This bas-relief is inscribed, "*Bhisa-haraniya Jātaka*"—"The Lotus-offering Birth?" This *Jātaka* has not yet been found in the *Jātaka* book, according to Rhys Davids¹. Another ornamental interspace, 53, consisting of a necklace and earrings, succeeds, and then the following bas-relief, 54, occurs, viz., a man half-seated, in native fashion, holding the two free ends of a long ornamented bag or skin resembling a *mashak* tied to the stems of some bamboos. Behind him there are four altars of masonry, all of different sizes. They are slightly concave above, and are marked by a number of shortly pronged three-forked figures or symbols. This curious scene is

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. cii.

inscribed, according to General Cunningham, "*Vaḍuka-katha dohati naḍode parate*," but which he does not translate in full. Dr. Hoernle has examined the inscription and has translated it thus: "How is Vaḍuka milking, when there exists lotus-stalk-water?" i.e., "what is Vaḍuka thinking of, that he attempts to 'milk' water (from the leathern bag) when there are lotus-stalks by which he might obtain it?" General Cunningham says the man is holding the ends as if in the act of milking, a happy supposition supported by the inscription, as read by Dr. Hoernle, who identifies the scene with the *Naṭapana Jātaka*. This Birth-story has been translated by Rhys Davids as follows:—¹

"This (Ketaka) was formerly, they say, a densely-wooded forest. And in its lake there was a water-demon, who used to eat whomsoever went down into the water. At that time the Bodisat was a monkey-king, in size like the fawn of a red deer; and attended by a troop of monkeys about eighty thousand in number; he lived in that forest, preserving them from harm.

"Now he exhorted the troop of monkeys, saying, 'My children! in this forest there are poisonous trees, and pools haunted by demons. When you are going to eat fruits of any kind you have not eaten before, or to drink water you have not drunk before, ask me about it.'

"'Very well,' said they. And one day they went to a place they had not been to before. There they wandered about the greater part of the day; and when, in searching about for water, they found a pond, they sat down without even drinking, and looked forward to the arrival of their king.

"When the Bodisat had come, he asked them, 'Why, my children, do you take no water?'

"'We awaited your arrival,' said they.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

“‘It is well, my children!’ said the Bodisat; and fixing his attention on the foot-marks close round the edge of the pond, he saw that they went down but never came up. Then he knew that it was assuredly haunted by demons, and said, ‘You have done well, my children, not to have drunk the water. This pond is haunted!’ But when the demon of the water saw that they were not going down into it, he assumed the horrible shape of a blue-bellied, pale-faced, red-handed, red-footed creature, and came splashing out through the water, and cried out. ‘Why do you sit still here? Go down and drink the water!’

“But the Bodisat asked him, ‘Are you the water-demon who haunts this spot?’

“‘Yes! I am he!’ was the reply.

“‘Have you received power over all who go down into the pool?’

“‘Yes, indeed! I carry off even a bird when it comes down, and I let no one off. You, too, I will devour, one and all!’

“‘We shall not allow you to eat us.’

“‘Well, then, drink away!’

“‘Yes! we shall drink the water too, but we shall not fall into your hands.’

“‘How, then, will you get at the water?’

“‘You imagine, I suppose, that we must go down to drink. But you are wrong! Each one of us eighty thousand shall take a Nala-cane and drink the water of your pond without ever entering it, as easily as one would drink from the hollow stem of a water-plant. And so you will have no power to eat us!’

“So saying the Bodisat had a Nala-cane brought to him, and appealing in great solemnity to the Ten Great Perfections (generosity, morality, self-denial, wisdom, perseverance, patience, truth, resolution, kindness, and resignation) exercised by him in this and previous births, he blew into the cane.

And the cane became hollow throughout, not a single knot being left in it. In this manner he had another, and then another, brought, and blew into it. Then the Bodisat walked round the pond, and commanded, saying. 'Let all the canes growing here be perforated throughout.' And thenceforward, since through the greatness of the goodness of the Bodisats, their commands are fulfilled, all the canes which grew in that pond became perforated throughout..... After giving this command, the Bodisat took a cane and seated himself. So, too, those eighty thousand monkeys took, each of them, a cane, and seated themselves round the pond. And at the same moment as he drew the water up into his cane and drank, so, too, they all sat safe on the bank, and drank.

"Thus the water-demon got not one of them into his power on their drinking the water, and he returned in sorrow to his own place. But the Bodisat and his troop went back again to the forest.'

Dr. Hoernle¹ supposes that "This story may well have led to the proverbial use of the expression *naḍoda*, or 'water (obtained) by means of a lotus-stalk,' to represent any clever expedient for escaping a difficulty. The word '*naḍoda*' would thus practically come to mean simply 'an expedient.' In the present case a foolish man, who is represented as trying to draw water from an empty leather bag (apparently a relative of the well-known Indian 'mashak'), is twitted for doing so, when "water obtainable-by-a-lotus-stalk is ready to hand," i.e., when he might escape his difficulty by a very simple expedient. What this expedient is, is represented, I believe, in the following compartment of the sculpture; . . ."

A. 56 "This is evidently a continuation of the preceding one. It reads '*jābu-naḍode pavate*,' or in full," according to Dr. Hoernle, "*jāmbu-naḍode pavatte*," that is "when the Jambu-tree-expedient is ready to hand; and it explains the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

previous indefinite phrase *naḍode pavatte*." General Cunningham says, "I take *Jabu* as the equivalent of the *Jambu*¹ tree, which here perhaps stands for the fabulous '*kalpa drūm*' or 'wishing tree' of Indra's heaven that produced whatever was desired." "It bears an immortal fruit resembling gold, as large as the water-vessel called mahakala²" which holds 64 gallons. This fruit falls into the rivers and from its seeds are produced grains of gold that are carried to the sea, and are sometimes found on the shore³. In the present scene, there is a tree, out of which come two human arms, one pouring out water on the hand of a man sitting in front of the tree, while the other holds a bowl of food. The man is seated on a basket which he has turned upside down. It is very like a porter's basket of the present time. Another man is walking away, with a small vessel which he has evidently had filled at the tree. In front, there is an altar or platform exactly like those of the previous bas-relief. This scene has not been identified with any Birth-story.

The visitor will now proceed to the northern end of the eastern wall of the gallery. In this wall, there is a long line of fragments of the architrave, the purely ornamental side of the coping having been cut away. The first portion is a fragment of the first part of the coping of a screen or approach to a gate. A fragment of the lion remains, and, at the other end, the upper halves of two figures standing on each side of an arched recess. This and the following seven fragments bear no inscriptions. The next portion is a man standing by the side of a recumbent ox, with a tree or shrub in front of both; they have formed part of the *Nandi-Visala Jātaka*. The rest of this fragment is taken up with two compart-

¹ From the *Dambu* or *Jambu* tree, *Dambadwīpa* or *Jambudwīpa* (India) derives its name. Spence Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

² Spence Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

- A. 63-65 ments of ornaments. In the adjoining piece, there is a boldly carved figure of a mythical animal, equine in its general form, neck, and tail, but with hoofs in front, and claws behind, the head being human. A small fragment follows, Pl. xxvii, fig. 13, identified by Cunningham as the *Asadrisa Jātaka* and which, according to Rhys Davids, occurs in the *Jātaka* book as *Asadisa*. There are two figures in this scene, one an archer shooting an arrow upwards, by the side of mango trees, from a Tartar-like bow, while, behind him, a man is reclining on his side; but this figure is much injured. The archer and the reclining man would seem conclusively to connect the bas-relief with the *Asadisa Jātaka*. *Asadisa* was the son of *Brahmadatta*, king of Benares, and heir to his throne, but, at his father's death, he refused the throne in favour of his younger brother, retaining however the viziership. After this, however, a noble poisoned the ear of his brother the king, saying that he was plotting against his life. The king therefore ordered him to be apprehended, but he escaped to *Sāmānya*. When he reached the walls of that city, he sent a message to the king that a famous archer had arrived and was willing to enter his service, which he did, on a salary of 1,000 *masurans*. His arrival, and employment by the king on a good salary, had excited the jealousy of the other archers. The king, one day reclining on his couch in his garden, under some mango trees, noticed a mango that could not be got by climbing, he therefore sent for his archers to bring it down by an arrow. The king ordered *Asadisa* to shoot at the fruit, but he had apparently no bow, which rejoiced the hearts of the other archers, who had resolved to decline to let him have the use of their weapons. *Asadisa*, however, dressed himself in splendid attire, and, fixing up a bow he had with him in pieces, approached the king, and asked him whether he wished the arrow to bring down the fruit as it went, or as it returned. The king said the latter. *Asadisa* then shot an arrow which cut off a small

portion from the mango and then sped its way to the world of Devas where it was enshrined. The second arrow was shot right into the firmament, and, on returning, produced such a noise in the air that the people were afraid. As it fell, it cleft the mango from the tree and was caught along with the fruit by the Bodhisat. For this unexampled feat the king bestowed on him great riches. About this time, his brother was besieged in Benares by seven kings, who demanded either that he should fight or deliver up his kingdom to them. In his dilemma he longed to have his brother back, and this coming to the ears of Asadisa he at once set off to assist the beleaguered king. Reaching Benares, he ascended a scaffold and fired an arrow into the camp of the seven kings with a letter attached to it warning them to depart, or they would all be killed; and on receiving this intimation from so noted an archer they all raised the siege, and retreated at once to their respective kingdoms. After this, he refused the kingdom from his brother and returned to the Himālā, where by asceticism he attained great merit and ascended to the celestial regions after his death¹.

A. 68-71 The next piece, Pl. XLI, 1 to 3, contains two scenes, part of one story, which is a very simple one,—a man knocked down by

A. 69 a ram. In the first scene, the ram, a large animal, nearly as high as its master who is alongside of it, is standing in front of a Rishi carrying two packages slung to the end of a banghi pole,

A. 71 and, in the second, the Rishi is lying on his back having been knocked over by the ram, his banghi pole and packages lying scattered behind him, the animal preparing to deliver another butt. The owner is holding up his hand saying, as General Cunningham suggests, "I told you so," he being apparently represented in the first scene as warning the Rishi not to approach too near to the animal.

A. 72, 73 In the adjoining small fragment, Pl. XLII, 1, a Rishi is

¹ Spence Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

sitting in front of his house with a gigantic five-headed cobra coiled up in front of him, with its heads raised in the attitude before striking.

- A. 74 The next piece, Pl. XLII, 5, is a very small fragment representing three Rishis flying through the air, each carrying an object in the left hand, and immediately below them is a fire altar. General Cunningham is disposed to think that this scene may refer to the famous ploughing match in which the child Bodhisat manifested his power and glory to his nurses and to his father, and so arrested the progress of five Rishis flying from south to north. The ploughing festival probably took place annually, and on the day the town of Kapilavatthu was gay with decorations and resembled a palace of the gods. The following is Rhys Davids' account of it¹: "All the slaves and servants, in new garments and crowned with sweet-smelling garlands, assemble in the king's house. For the king's work a thousand ploughs are yoked. On this occasion one hundred and eight minus one were with their oxen-reins and cross-bars, ornamented with silver. But the plough for the king to use was ornamented with red gold; and so also the horns and reins and goads of the oxen.

"The king, leaving his house with a great retinue, took his son and went to the spot. There was a Jambu-tree thick with leaves and giving a dense shade. Under it the rāja had the child's couch laid out; and over the couch a canopy spread inlaid with stars of gold, and round it a curtain hung. Then leaving a guard there, the rāja, clad in splendour and attended by his ministers, went away to plough.

"At such a time the king takes hold of a golden plough, the attendant ministers one hundred and eight minus one silver ploughs, and the peasants the rest of the ploughs. Holding them they plough this way and that way. The rāja goes from one side to the other, and comes from the other back again.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

"On this occasion the king had great success ; and the nurses seated round the Bodisat, thinking, 'Let us go to see the king's glory,' came out from within the curtain, and went away. The future Buddha, looking all round, and seeing no one, got up quickly, seated himself cross-legged, and holding his breath, sank into the first Jhāna.

"The nurses, engaged in preparing various kinds of food, delayed a little. The shadows of the other trees turned round, but that of the Jambu-tree remained steady and circular in form. The nurses, remembering their young master was alone, hurriedly raised the curtain and returned inside it. Seeing the Bodisat sitting cross-legged, and that miracle of the shadow, they went and told the rāja, saying. 'O King ! the Prince is seated in such and such a manner; and while the shadows of the other trees have turned, that of the Jambu-tree is fixed in a circle !'

"And the rāja went hurriedly and saw that miracle, and did homage to his son, saying, 'This, Beloved One, is the second homage paid to thee !'

So far there is no mention of Rishis, but in Beal's translation of the "*Abhineshkramana Sūtra*," the story of the Ploughing Match is largely taken up with an account of five Rishis flying through the air, and whose movements were suddenly arrested as they, at first, unconsciously, passed over the spot where the child Bodisat reposed under the *shamiāna* put up by his father. The following is Beal's¹ description of this part of the story :—

"At this time there happened to be five Rishis flying, by means of their spiritual powers, through the air, possessed of great energies, and thoroughly versed in the Shasters and Vedas. They were going from the south towards the north, and when they arrived just over the Jambu tree in the garden aforesaid, wishing to go onwards, suddenly they found them-

¹ "Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha," p. 74.

selves arrested in their course. Then they said one to another, 'How is it that we, who have in former times found no difficulty in flying through space and reaching even beyond Sumeru to the palace of Vaisravana, and even to the city of Arkavanta, and beyond that even to the abode of the Yakshas, yet now find our flight impeded in passing over this tree? By what influence is it that to-day we have lost our spiritual power?'

"Then the Rishis, looking downwards, beheld the prince underneath the tree, sitting with his legs crossed, his whole person so bright with glory that they could with difficulty behold him. Then these Rishis began to consider—'Who can this be?' 'Is it Brahma, Lord of the world?—or is it Krishna Deva, Lord of the Kama loka?—or is it Sakra?—or is it Vaisravana, the Lord of the Treasures?—or is it Chandradeva?—or is it Sûrya Deva?—or is it some Chakravartin Râja?—or is it possible that this is the person of a Buddha born into the world?'"

"At this time the Guardian Deva of the wood addressed the Rishis as follows: 'Great Rishis all! this is not Brahma Deva, Lord of the world; or Krishna, Lord of the Kama Heavens; or Sâkra, or Vaisravana, Lord of the Treasures; or Chandra Deva or Sûrya Deva; but this is the Prince Royal, called Siddhârtha, born of Suddhâdana Râja, belonging to the Sâkya race. The glory which proceeds from one pore of his body is greater by sixteen times than all the glory proceeding from the bodies of all those forenamed Devas! And on this account your spiritual power of flight failed you as soon as you came above this tree!'"

Although there are only three Rishis now on the sculpture, there were evidently more, as the shoulder of a fourth occurs to the right of the innermost figure.

The next fragment, Pl. XLII, is the commencement of the
A. 75 coping of a quadrant, and, as such, it begins with an elephant,

- A. 76 6, spouting out, as it were, the stories before it. The first, 76, is laid in a courtyard, formed by three lines of houses, a man and a woman standing in the courtyard, the former emptying a small basket of its contents, on to a flat basket held by the woman. Outside the houses, a man stands with his banghi and basket placed on the ground, and a banghi pole in his right hand. This man is probably the same man as he inside, the story being told in two parts, the arrival of the banghi-wallah, and his having sold grain, or some substance to the woman. General Cunningham connects this scene with Rāmayana and with Rāma dwelling at Panchavati on the Godāvari, but the connection between the two is conjectural. After this
- A. 77 there are some jack-fruits, 77, and then the following bas-relief,
- A. 78 78. To the left stand two men quite differently attired from any of the male figures represented on the Stūpa generally, as their head-dresses are low and evidently hats of some kind decorated probably with feathers, and under a kind of kilt they wear trowsers to below the knees. They are engaged in earnest conversation, and, to the right of them, two merchants are sitting in the midst of their goods which consist of grain bags, elephants' tusks, &c., and, what General Cunningham thinks, may be yaks' tails (*chauries*). Beside them some money also lies loosely, and there is more in a basket or frame-like structure, similar to those seen in the Jetavana monastery medallion. The two figures to the left are probably foreign merchants bargaining for the goods lying in front of them.
- A. 81 Four scenes, Pl. XLIV, occur on the next portion of the architrave. The first, 81, represents a man seated on a wooden stool and holding an arrow in his hand, along which he appears to be looking to ascertain if the shaft is straight, an object resembling a quiver full of arrows, lying beside him. In front of him, stand a man and a woman, the former being a bearded figure, with no head-dress, his hair being

brushed back in short wavy folds, and his only garment being a cloth round his waist, and thrown over his left shoulder. The woman is dressed in the usual fashion, and stands behind the man, who is addressing the seated figure and emphasizing what he is saying by raising the forefinger of each hand. The seated man has only a cloth around his waist, and heavy bracelets. The scene had originally three labels, one over the head of each figure, but that over the seated figure has been clipped off, with the exception of a portion of the first letter, which General Cunningham thinks may have been either U, or B. The adjoining name is *Janako Rāja*, and the one to the right is the woman, *Sivalā Devi*, the two leading figures in the *Jānaka Jātaka*. General Cunningham gives the following brief outline regarding this Birth-story from Bishop Bigandet: "When Arita Janaka, Rāja of Alithita, was slain in battle, his queen, who was with child, took refuge in Champa, where she gave birth to a beautiful child resembling a statue of gold, to whom was given the name of *Janaka*. When grown up Janaka devoted himself to trade, that he might obtain the means of returning to his native country. When at sea on his way to Kāmawātara his ship was wrecked, but he was saved by a daughter of the Devas, who taking him in her arms carried him to Mithila and placed him on the table-stone of his ancestors. Here he fell asleep. On that very day his uncle, the Raja of Mithila, had died, leaving an only daughter called *Sivali*. Before his death the Rāja had charged his ministers to select for the husband of his daughter 'a man remarkable for beauty and strength, as well as for ability.' He was to be able to bend and unbend an enormous bow, a feat which a thousand could scarcely achieve. On the seventh day after the Rāja's death the ministers resolved to leave the selection of a husband to chance. So 'they sent out a charmed chariot,' believing that its inherent virtue would point out the fortunate man who was to be

husband of the princess. Accordingly the chariot proceeded straight towards the stone on which Janaka was sleeping. As the Brahmans perceived on the hands and feet of the stranger unmistakable signs foreshowing his elevation to the royal dignity, Janaka was awoke and taken to the palace in the charmed chariot. Here he performed the required feats of bending and unbending the great bow and was duly united to the beautiful youthful Sivali."

A. 83

The next scene, 83, is uninscribed, and from the similarity of the male and female figures to the left to those of the previous scene, it will probably be found to relate also to the preceding Jātaka. The scene is laid between two houses: a man, like the figure of the previous scene, being seated at the corner of one of the houses, but with a cloth tied round his loins and knees in native fashion, the head and hands of a woman appearing out of a huge structure, like a great water-vessel, in which she is incarcerated, the man pointing to her with his hands. Approaching them, from the opposite side of the house at which the man is seated, is another man holding up his right hand and fore-finger at the former, who points to the woman in the water-vessel. General Cunningham describes the woman as "listening from a circular hole or opening in the roof of an adjacent house;" but this explanation seems to be incorrect, as the object in which the woman is has an oval outline and stands in the courtyard between two houses. The adjoining bas-relief, 85, consists of a Rishi seated beside a tree with a *ghar'ā* by his side and a basket in front of him filled with fruit, which has probably been brought as an offering by the foremost figure of four men before him, three of whom are seated, and all in an attitude of reverence. General Cunningham thinks that the subject of this scene is "the appearance of the four exiled princes before the sage Kapila, who gave up his residence to them for the site of their new city, which was accordingly

A. 85

called *Kapila-vastu* or *Kapila-nagara*. . . . As the story of the four exiled persons is intimately connected with the origin of the name of Sākya, it has a special interest of its own, irrespective of the curious light which it throws on some of the social habits of the people. The following is a brief outline of its leading features taken from "Spence Hardy's Long Account:"—

"The last Ikshvāku king had five wives and five sons, one by each wife. The mother of the youngest, five days after his birth, 'arrayed him in a splendid robe, took him to the king, and placing him in his arms told him to admire his beauty. The king on seeing him was much delighted that she had borne him so beautiful a son in his old age, and gave her permission to ask for anything she might desire. She of course asked that her son might be declared heir to the throne, which was then refused.' But not long afterwards, when the king was talking to her in a pleasant manner, she told him that it was wrong for princes to speak untruths, and asked him if he had never heard of the monarch who was taken to hell for the utterance of a lie. By this allusion the king was put to shame. He then sent for his four eldest sons, and told them that his youngest son was to be his successor, and that they should take such treasures as they required, and as many people as would follow them, and seek another place for their abode. The four princes accordingly started from Benaras with a large retinue. 'When their five sisters heard of their departure, they thought that there would be no one now to care for them, as their brothers were gone, so they resolved to follow them and joined them with such treasures as they could collect.' In the course of their wanderings the princes arrived at the hermitage of the sage Kapila, to whom they paid due reverence, and when he asked them what they were doing in the forest, they told him their

¹ "Bharhut Stūpa," p. 101.

history. The sage then offered them the site of his own hermitage 'for the building of their city, telling them that if even an outcast had been born there, it would at some future period be honoured by the presence of a *chakravartī*, and that from it a being would proceed who would be an assistance to all the intelligences of the world. No other favour did the sage request in return, but that the princes would call the city by his own name, Kapila.' It is this interview between Kapila and the four exiled princes which seems to me to form the subject of the Bharhut bas-relief.

"The princes then said to each other: 'If we send to any of the inferior kings to ask their daughters in marriage, it will be a dishonour to the Okkāka race; and if we give our sisters to their princes it will be an equal dishonour; it will therefore be better to stain the purity of our relationship than that of our race!' The eldest sister (named Priyā) was therefore appointed as the queen-mother, and each of the brothers took one of the other sisters as his wife. In the Tibetan version it is specially noted that the sisters also had different mothers, and that each of the brothers accordingly selected his half-sister. In the course of time each of the queens had eight sons and eight daughters. 'When their father heard in what manner the princes had acted, he thrice exclaimed, *Sakā wata bho rājā-kumāra, paramā Sakā wata bho rājakumārāye*,'—'The princes are skilful in preserving the purity of our race, the princes are exceedingly skilful in preserving the purity of our race.' On account of this exclamation of the king, the Okkāka race was henceforth called '*Ambatta-Sākya*.' In the Tibetan account, when the king is informed that his four sons have "taken their sisters for their wives, and have been much multiplied, he is much surprised, and exclaims several times, '*Shākya, Shākya*,' 'Is it possible, is it possible,' or, 'O daring!' 'O daring!' and this is the origin of the Shākya name."

- A. 87** The adjoining compartment represents three pairs of spotted deer beside a mango tree, in front of which is a throne or altar strewn with flowers, one of the deer eating the leaves of the tree. That they are spotted deer is indicated by the spots being represented as small dots cut out of the stone. To what this story refers is unknown.
- A. 92** In the next portion, Pl. XLV, 3, a man is seated, to the right, on a high seat like an ottoman, over which a quilted cover has been thrown. His right leg is drawn up and crossed in native fashion, while his left hangs down and rests on a footstool. He is evidently holding a conversation with a woman in front of him, who enforces what she says, as also does the man, by uplifted right hand and raised fore-finger. Behind the woman, another of her sex, and probably one of her servants, judging by her simple attire, absence of all ornaments, and plainly braided hair, is retreating from the presence of her master with one of her garments hanging down loosely behind. In the next bas-relief, 94, a man and two monkeys are the actors, and the scene is laid in a forest. There is this peculiarity about the man, that he is the only figure in these sculptures that is represented with a tight-fitting sleeved coat, open in its lower half below, and showing the *dhoti* beneath. A monkey (*Macacus rhesus*) is seated in front of him, holding some object close to one eye, while another monkey is running away with a banghi load on his shoulder consisting of two *ghar'ās*, the man holding up his hands in astonishment at what he is witnessing. Nothing is known regarding the story. The following compartment, 96, consists of three houses with a bird (crow?) on a perch at the gable of one, and a dove in a next suspended under the eaves of the house to the left. As in the foregoing bas-reliefs, there is no inscription to lead to the identification of the scene. The next compartment, 98, however, is inscribed as follows: "*Chitupāda sila*," which
- A. 94**
- A. 96**
- A. 98**

General Cunningham thinks may be intended for '*Chhitu*' splitting, of the rock '*sila*,' but he is unable to explain '*pāda*.' Dr. Hoernle¹, however, differs from General Cunningham, and suggests "that '*Chitupāda*' is one word meaning "four-sided," and that it refers to the draught-board chalked or marked out on the flat surface of the rock, which splits in two through it, and that the legend means "devotion to the gaming board," "the practice of gambling." General Cunningham's explanation, however, that it refers to one of the previous births of Buddha as a gambler, is highly probable, and he observes that "perhaps the point of the story may have been the first occurrence of cheating, and consequent punishment of the offender. The two figures, who are apparently descending into hell along with the sinking rock, would be the party guilty of cheating, while the principal figure of the opposite party, who still remains seated on the main rock looking on with wonder and amazement, would be Buddha himself in a previous existence." On the flat rock is a square object exactly like those represented in the scene in which the man milks the *mashak*, and ornamented with the same trisular figures or symbols. This relief is followed by three ornamental compartments, and then by the *Uda Jātaka*, Pl. XLVI, 2. A Rishi is seated beside some plantain bushes and trees with a sheet of water in front of him, in which fish are represented swimming about. Immediately before him, there is a basket filled to the top, and a *ghar'ā*. On the banks of the tank, lake, or stream are lying the head and tail of a fish over which two cats are quarrelling, and a dog looking on, while another is running off with a large piece of the fish in his mouth. General Cunningham thinks that this scene will be identified as one of the *Jātakas*, and that the term "*Uda Jātaka*"—"Water Birth"—has been unintentionally shortened by the sculptor. In the bas-relief that follows, 104, an

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

unshaven Rishi is seated in front of his house, a narrow high, probably hexagonal, building, with a hexagonally-domed roof. The door is open, and the corner of a basket is seen, probably that of the preceding scene, as the Rishi appears to be the same person in both, and it is probable that this is only a continuation of the foregoing legend. He is seated on some object, which the sides of his kilt-like garment cover, and, for ease in sitting, he has, in native fashion, tied a cloth round his loins in front of his knees. Before him stand two men and a woman. The Rishi has the tips of his two first fingers applied to each other as if he were explaining some point to his audience. This scene, "in spite of the difference of dress may perhaps," according to General Cunningham, "be intended to picture the arrival of Rāma, Sitā, and Lakshana at the hermitage of the sage Bharadvāja, near the junction of the Ganges and Jumna at Prayaga, or at that of Vālmiki near Chitrakuta." In the second compartment from this, 6, three elephants are represented in a bamboo thicket, and one of them is eating what appears to be the stems of the bamboo out of a large bowl-like vessel on a masonry platform, with another elephant alongside it, while the third elephant is pulling down a bamboo stem with his trunk. The next scene, 108, is inscribed as the "*Seckha Jātaka*," which, according to Rhys Davids¹, is the "*Dūbbhiya-makkata*" of the Jātaka book. In this scene two monkeys and two men play a part. The men have, according to General Cunningham, unshaven heads, which, taken in conjunction with their right shoulders being bare, leads him to conclude that they are monks. The heads of monks were generally shaved, but a bared right shoulder was not invariably a sign of priesthood. Dr. Hoernle², however, describes the men as having closely cropped hair, and says that this would seem to indicate that they were novices. The heads have the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. cii.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

appearance as if they had been shaved or closely cropped, but in front, over the forehead, there is a well-marked knot, either of hair left in front, or it is the string of a tightly-fitting cap. The man to the left is pouring out water into the hands of a monkey (*Macacus rhesus*), while, in front of him, a young monkey is looking on from a neighbouring tree. The other man is walking away with a banghi load over his shoulder. Dr. Hoernle calls this "the probationer—or novice Jātaka."

- A. 112 The last fragment of the architrave, Pl. XXVII, 12, consists only of the upper half of one scene, and a portion of another, both bearing inscriptions. The first is inscribed, "*Kinara Jātaka*"—"The Kinnara Birth," while in the Jātaka book, according to Rhys Davids¹, it is the *Canda-kinnara*, and forms the subject of the carving on one of the rails of Buddha Gāya figured by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in his work entitled "*Buddha Gayā*"², in which he gives the following extract of the story taken from the *Bodhi-sattva-vadāna-kalpalatā*:—³

"Vidyādhara, a serpent-catcher, attempted to capture the king of serpents and drag him out from his abode by means of drugs and incantations. The king, greatly terrified, took shelter with a hunter, named Padmaka. This man killed Vidyādhara with poisoned arrows, and obtained from his protégé a charmed noose of wonderful power. On his death he bequeathed the noose to his son Utpala, who dwelt at Hastinapura, in the vicinity of Valkalāyana's hermitage. Once upon a time Utpala heard a charming song resounding in the air. Learning it was being sung by an exceedingly beautiful Kinnari, he captured her by means of his noose. The Kinnari, to regain her liberty, offered to give him her jewelled coronet, which lends the power of traversing the universe at pleasure. When the two were settling their

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. cii, foot-note 6. ² *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 2. ³ *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

bargain, in came Sudhana, a young prince of Hastina, on a hunting excursion. Utpala gave him the jewel, and the Kinnarí married him, and the married couple proceeded to the palace.

"At this time there lived in the royal household two Bráhmans, Kapila and Pushkara, the former serving as priest to the king, the latter in the same capacity to the prince. They were vain of their learning, and always quarrelled with each other. One of the feudatories of the king rebelling, the king directed his son to lead an army against the unruly vassal. Sudhana left his wife with her jewel under the care of his mother. The king, after his son's departure, dreamt an inauspicious dream, and Kapila, his priest, advised him to offer a Kinnarí as a burnt offering to propitiate the enraged divinity who had caused the dream. Kapila was a shrewd man, who took this opportunity of humbling his rival, for he knew full well that the prince was sure to die if the Kinnarí be killed in a sacrifice. But he was disappointed. The queen privately warned her daughter-in-law, and sent her away with the jewel to Kinnarapura. The Kinnarí left a ring and some charmed butter with Valkaláyana, requesting him to hand the two things to Sudhana on his return.

"Sudhana returned victorious from the war; but his joy was damped by the loss of his wife. He determined to proceed to Kinnarapura, and immediately set forth in a northerly direction. On his way he obtained the ring and the butter from Valkaláyana, which helped him a great deal in overcoming the fatigues of his journey. He crossed the mountains Himálaya, Kulada, Ajapatha, Kámarúpa, Ekadhara, Vajraka, and Khadira, one after another, and encountered many adventures. Beyond Mount Khadira he found two great mountains turning on a wheel, which made the road impassable. He destroyed the axle of the wheel, and fixed the mountains in their proper places. After this adventure he

had to ford the Gúhá, Patangá, Rodiní, Hasiní, and several other furious mountain-streams before he reached Kinnarapura. There he met his wife, and the two wept tears of joy."

All that can be made out is that a prince is seated in a broad arm-chair with a man and a woman on his left hand.

- A. 114 The last scene is represented only by a fragment; there is a tree among rocks, to the right of which, a man with short hair is seated in a recess. It bears the following inscription: "*Játīla Sabhā*"—"Assembly of the Játīlians." Regarding this broken fragment, General Cunningham says that "the scene would have been one of the most interesting subjects of the whole series," and his reason for thinking so is that it was probably a representation of the assembly of the followers of the fire-worshipping Uruvelva Kāsyapa, who is represented along with his two brothers in the Sanchi tope, and in the Gāndhāra sculptures.

- P. 30 The visitor will now turn to the statue, Pl. xxxii, fig. 1, against the adjoining south wall, and which is inscribed, "*Bhadanta Mahilasa thabho dānam*"—"Pillar-gift of the lay brother Mahila." This is the figure of a soldier nearly life-size. His head is bare, and the short hair is represented in little curls of the same character as those which in after years distinguished the heads of all statues and figures of Buddha¹, who had short hair, having cut off his long locks, on his flight from his father's palace, and his home. The head of this soldier is bound by a head-band or fillet, which is tied behind in a large bow with flowing ends. This form of head-dress occurs also in a figure from Mathura, in the adjoining room. He has a tight-fitting long-sleeved coat reaching below the hips, with a collar, and tied at the neck with a tasselled cord, and in front of the loins by a bow. The native *dhōti* is worn

¹ This type of hair occurs in other figures on the Bharhut Stūpa, also in the Sanchi sculptures, and in the men represented in the Mathura Silenus group, where they are associated with their fellow country-women with long smooth hair. This subject will be referred to hereafter.

below it, and he has boots reaching nearly to the knees and tied in front with a cord with tasselled ends. The sword is slung over the left shoulder, hanging by the same side, and held by the left hand, while in his right hand there is a flower. On the scabbard there are a circle and trisul. The weapon itself is long, broad and tapering to a point, the handle having a plain serrated ornament. The figure stands on a pedestal with a Buddhist railing in front of it.

- P. 31 Crossing the entrance leading to the next gallery, there is another statue, Pl. XXIII, fig. 2, on the other half of the south wall, the largest and best executed figure of a woman among these sculptures. It stands on a mythological animal, elephant, crocodile, and fish. To the left of the head are the words "*Yakhini Sudasana*"—"The Yakshini Sudarsana," and on the same side further down "*Bhadanta Kanadasa Bhānakasa thabho dānam Chikulaniyasa*"—"Pillar-gift of the lay brother Kanada Bhānaka of Chikulaniya." Sudarsana was one of the divine Apsarasas. Her dress is much the same as in the other female statues, but her waist sash is ornamented with small trisular figures like those already pointed out in some other scenes, and which occur also in the upper part of this half pillar. The enormously heavy earrings that drag down the lobes of the ears, even to the shoulders, are well shewn. Her right hand is raised to her ear and the index finger is extended as if in the attitude of listening or of attention. The figure measures 4 feet 10½ inches in height.

- M. 5 Turning now to the west wall of the gallery, a series of fragments occur along it, the first of these being the central medallion of a railing-pillar, Pl. XXIX, fig. 4, and according to the inscription it is stated to be a representation of the Bodhi tree of Kanaka-muni, the second of the four Mānushi Buddhas. The scene has the usual character of such subjects, a tree, *Ficus glomerata*, decorated with garlands and with a throne in front

of it, in this instance, with two pillars, and a kneeling woman, on each side of it, kissing the throne, while a man stands on either side of the tree, one holding garlands, and the other a little basket with round objects in it, and which may be the fruit of the tree, and one of these he is probably holding in his upwardly-stretched right hand. On the adjoining medallion, Pl. XXXII, fig. 4, also of a rail-pillar, a large elephant is carved standing on a low platform, two men being seated on its back, the first, the driver, with his *ank'us* in his left hand and a pole with garlands in his right, the man behind carrying a banner with a figure like a St. Andrew's cross¹ on it, traversed in its middle by a cross-bar, the summit of the banner pole being surmounted by a chakra bearing a trisul. An object like this banner, and with a similar cross, occurs on the lowest scene of the present western face of the south corner pillar already described. The elephant also carries in his trunk a large floral banner. Behind this elephant, there is another in the distance, on a lotus capsule, with its rider carrying an umbrella.

- M. 7 Passing along this wall towards the north, the 7th medallion Pl. XXX, fig. 1, contains a scene similar to that just described as the second Buddha's Bodhi tree. The lower inscription is "*Bhagavato Kāsapasa Bodhi*"—"The Bodhi tree (*F. bengalensis*) of Buddha Kāsyapa," the third Buddha; and the upper inscription records that the pillar was the gift of "Sangha-mitra of Chakulana." The position of the woman to the right is very nearly reproduced in a female figure in the frieze of the Rānī Naur cave-temple of Orissa, and it is interesting to note that the hair in both figures is apparently dressed in the same fashion, namely, a number of plaits falling down the back but collected together and tied up in a knot, about the middle of the back. Adjoining this medallion,

M. 8 ¹ Mr. Fergusson, in "*Tree and Serpent Worship*," compares to the Union Jack banners similar to this occurring in the Sauchi Tope.

there is the fragment of another M. 8 containing a round human face, and, to the right there is another medallion, Pl. XXVI, fig. 6, of a pillar with an upper inscription as follows:—"Vedisa Anurâdhaya dānam"—"Gift of Anurâdha of Vedisa (Besnagar)"; and a lower "*Chadantiya Jâtakam*"—"The Birth of (Buddha) as a Chhadanta Elephant." General Cunningham states that this medallion has had the following curious history: it "was broken in two pieces at least 150 years ago, when the lower half was carried away to Pathora by the Jâgirdar along with many other sculptures. The upper half was first found at Bharhut, but the lower half was only discovered ten months later by Babu Jamna Shankar at Pathora, seven miles distant, where it was in daily use by a washerman who beat his clothes upon it." The Jâtaka of the Chad-danta elephant is very long, but the following are its chief incidents: At that time the Bodisat was king of a herd of 8,000 elephants that lived by the lake of Chad-danta, one of the seven lakes of the Buddhist system of the universe, and not far from Himalāya. His tusks had the property of emitting six rays of different colours, and he is said, by some accounts, to have had six tusks, as shown in this bas-relief. He had two queens, one Mahā Subhadrā and the other Chullā Subhadrā, but the latter was very jealous of the king's attentions to the former, and so hated the king that she wished, that after her death, she might become the wife of the king of Benares and then be in a position to prevail on her husband to send a hunter to kill the king elephant, and bring his tusks to her. Her wish was gratified, and the hunter being sent he secreted himself in a pit, and shot the king of the elephants in the navel, as he passed near his hiding place. Then all the other elephants rushed about, but Mahā Subhadrā remained supporting her husband, who, reflecting, came to the conclusion that the arrow must have come from the earth. He therefore sent Mahā Subhadrā away and tearing up the

ground soon discovered the huntsman, his enemy, secreted in the pit, but this crafty man no sooner found that he was discovered than he threw a yellow priestly robe about him. The elephant noticing the yellow robe pulled the man out gently and was pacified at once, and addressed him thus—"If a man who is still corrupted by passion, who has not given up worldly passions, or who does not speak the truth, puts on the yellow robe, he is like a monkey covered with a lion's skin; if a man suppresses his passions, practises all the moral virtues, spends his time in religious meditation, and speaks the truth, he is fit to wear the yellow robe, which is the dress of the Buddhas." The magnanimous beast not wishing to kill the treacherous hunter, asked him why he had shot him, whether for himself or for another, and being informed that he had been sent by the queen of Benares to do the deed, he recollected all the facts and said, "Chulla Subhadra cherishing a hatred against me for a mere trifle has sent you to kill me and to carry off my tusks. They will, however, be of no use to her, but you may cut them off before I die." As the elephant was so high that the hunter could not reach the tusks, he told him to give him the saw in his trunk and he would cut them off himself, which he did, and holding them out to the hunter said, "Friend hunter, I offer you these tusks, not because I am tired of them, nor because I hope to become Sakra or Brahma after my death, but because I expect to become a Buddha, which is millions of times more valuable than they are." He shortly died and was burnt by the herd, innumerable Buddhas standing round and chanting his praises. The tusks were carried to the queen, but when she realized the cruel deed she had committed, she died of grief the same day. The scene represents the elephant king when wounded with the arrow in his navel, and kneeling down to let the hunter cut off his tusks with a large double-handed saw. The bow and quiver

of the hunter are lying in front of him, on the ground. On each side of the pillar, below the medallion, there is a monkey, rather characteristically portrayed.

- M. 10 Below, and between these two medallions, there is a third, Pl. xxviii, fig. 1, also belonging to a pillar. It has an inscription on the upper portion of its raised rim and to the following effect: "*Tikotiko Chakamo*," that is, according to General Cunningham, "The region of Trikuta." At the upper left corner of the medallion there is a triangle, with a broad border decorated with floral designs, within which a triangular recess is filled by a three-headed cobra. The rest of the medallion is chiefly occupied by elephants feeding in various attitudes, and by two lion-like animals to the left. Two trees are represented and one rock. General Cunningham remarks that, as *Nāga* means an elephant as well as a snake, he infers that the artist intended to represent "a comprehensive view of the *Nāga loka*."

- A little further to the right, there are two other medallions of pillars. The pillar on which the 11th medallion, Pl. xxv, fig. 4, was sculptured, General Cunningham informs us, "was removed from Bharhut to Batanmāra, seven generations back, along with several other pillars and some portion of the eastern gateway. . . . Unfortunately this *Jātaka* pillar was laid flat in the floor of the arcade where it had been trodden over daily, but luckily only by bare feet, otherwise the inscription, which is engraved on the carved edge of the medallion, would have disappeared altogether." The inscription, as read by General Cunningham, is "*Mugaphakasa Jātaka* or *Muga pakaya Jātaka*," which he considers to be the same as the *Mugga pakkha Jātaka* of the Ceylonese list. Rhys Davids¹ gives it as the *Muga-pakkha* of the *Jātaka*-book. In the foreground, stands a chariot with four horses and the reins thrown over the splashboard, which has a

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. cii.

curious symbol in front of it, and the horses' tails, as in the chariot on the corner pillar of the south gate, are tied up to the traces. To the right of the chariot a man stands looking straightforward, and behind him, to the left, a man is using a *kudālī*. Standing above the chariot, in the middle of the medallion, there is another man with opposed palms, with four attendants behind him, and on his left a Rishi is seated between two trees apparently addressing him. To the left of this central figure, there is a low round chair or stool, on which a man is seated with a child on his lap, two male attendants being behind. Above this group, there is a representation of the verandah and upper storey of a house with a pinnacled roof. As it is supported on posts, the sculptor's idea was probably to represent a pavilion over the group below. Beside this medallion, there is another Pl. xxxiv, fig. 4, illustrating the worship of the chakra or wheel of the law, which, in this bas-relief, is supported on an octagonal pillar with a bell-shaped capital, surmounted by two recumbent oxen, there being two female worshipers and two men with garlands, the wheel being also decorated with these objects.

M. 12 On the stone platform, below the adjoining window of the Gallery, there is another pillar medallion, Pl. xxviii, fig. 4, but imperfect, as two sides of its outer rim have been broken off. It represents the worship of the throne of Buddha, over which an umbrella is placed. This scene has been nearly surrounded with rocks, and trees and monkeys, and other animals; for example, the head of a wild pig is seen in a recess in the rocks. Alongside of this fragment there is a restoration of one of the lions of the coping, Pl. xxxix, fig. 1, but consisting of the parts of two distinct figures, and beside it there are other two fragments of lions.

On the other platform, there is one of the scrolls of the torana beams, Pl. ix; and one of the pillars, Pl. v, fig. 1, of the

small outside railing, measuring 2 feet 2 inches in height, with three mortises on each side for cross-bars, and with one of its faces carved and bearing the erect figure of a man with opposed palms.

Besides these there are the following small fragments; (A), a portion of a block that intervened between two of the projecting ends of torana beams, and figured by General Cunningham, Plate IX; (B), a fragment belonging to another of the same stones, its only ornament remaining being a portion of a Buddhist railing; (C), an ornamental corner of one of these stones; (D), a lotus flower belonging to one of them; (E), a lion-like foot; (F), the half of an elephant's foot; (G), the fragment, evidently the tip of one of the outer arms of the trisul, which led General Cunningham to suppose that the top of each side of the gateway was surmounted by a trisul on a wheel of the law; (H) a fragment of an inscription from a crossbar; (I), the facial portion of a female figure; and lastly, (J), part of the waist-belt of a similar statue.

Buddha Gaya.

These ruins are situated on the left or western bank of the Līlājān river, 5 miles to the south of the city of Gayā, and 65 miles to the south of Patna. According to Dr. Mitra, Gayā existed as a town at least 2,400 years ago, when it was known as Uruvelva. It was here that the Bodhisat "conceived the idea of devoting himself to a particular form of meditation, which would secure to mankind the highest blessing. He was invited to the place by certain householders who received him with cordial welcome. It was besides one of the first places which received the doctrine of the reformer and became the headquarters of the faith¹." Here, under the famous pipāl tree,

¹ "Buddha Gayā," 1878, p. 9.

Ficus religiosa, Sākya Muni attained to the supreme, all-perfect Buddhahood.

General Cunningham¹ considers that the name Buddha Gayā was in all probability originally Bodhi Gayā in reference to the Bodhi-tree under which Buddha had sat in meditation; but Dr. Mitra, the most recent authority on these ruins, disputes the correctness of General Cunningham's supposed origin of the name, and says that Buddha Gayā was only used to distinguish the locality from Brahma Gayā, or Gayā proper.

A platform or terrace, the Bodhimanda or ornament of the holy tree, was afterwards built around it; and over the exact spot on which Sākya Muni had sat in mental abstraction, a golden throne or vajrāsan was erected; and Hwen Thsang, the Chinese traveller, mentions that the tree still existed at the time of his visit, now twelve hundred years ago. This famous tree appears to have been destroyed on three different occasions: 1st, by the Emperor Asoka, before his conversion; 2nd, by his chief Queen Tishya-rakshitā, when she grew jealous of the presents lavished on it by her lord; and 3rd, by Sasānka, probably a king of Bengal. In these two first instances, it was miraculously restored, and, on the third, it was renewed by Purna Varmma, the king of Magada, in 610 A.D., ten years after its destruction by Sasānka. Hwen Thsang, who records this, states that the tree was 40 to 50 feet high when he visited it, about 637 A.D. Hamilton Buchanan, when he was at Buddha Gayā, in 1811, estimated the age of what was then regarded as the Bodhi-tree at 100 years; and this tree, when General Cunningham visited Buddha Gayā, in 1871, seemed to be rapidly decaying and to have little more remaining than a few unimportant branches and a rotting stem, the tree being then worshipped by Brahmanical pilgrims.

¹ Archæological Reports, Vol. I, p. 4; A. Vol. XI, p. 141.

The chief object of attraction at Buddha Gayā is the old temple or Wihāra built over the spot where the great teacher attained Buddhahood, and rising from a mass of masonry, on its west side, and at some 20 feet above the ground, was the old Bodhi tree, or a tree at least that was regarded as such. At the restoration of the temple, in 1880, the old tree fell down, and below it were found the remains of older trees. A seedling of the tree was saved, and, in 1881, on my second visit to Buddha Gayā, it was planted to the north of the temple, and to the north-east of the spot where the old tree had stood and had been worshipped for centuries, and its slim stem had already been gilt by Burmese pilgrims. The temple has been described by Hwen Thsang as built of thick bricks covered with a coating of plaster, and ornamented with niches in stages, each niche holding a golden statue of Buddha, the temple being crowned with an *amalaka* fruit in copper gilt, a description which General Cunningham¹ and Dr. Mitra² say tallies exactly with the appearance of the present temple, only the metal pinnacle has long ago disappeared along with the golden figures of Buddha, which were probably only gilt figures like those in use in Burma at the present time.

At one period, the great temple was surrounded by a sculptured Buddhist railing, about 9 feet high, which was discovered by Major Mead during a series of excavations made under the auspices of Government, but at the recommendation of General Cunningham it was partially re-excavated, in 1871. Some of the pillars and copings were found to bear inscriptions in the Asoka character. This railing has been again (1881-82) excavated and restored, and the fragments in this gallery having been considered too small to be put up *in situ*, they were presented by the Archaeological Survey and built up where they now are, along with some cross-bars that had been discovered at various times.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

General Cunningham¹ believes that the present temple is "the very same building which Hwen Thsang saw and described in 637 A.D." and he assigns its foundation to 50 or 60 B.C. Dr. Mitra² admits that there is much difficulty in determining the age of the temple, but he considers that the materials now available permit of the conclusion that it dates from the first century B.C. to the close of the first century A.D. Mr. Fergusson³, however, holds an entirely different opinion from either of these archæologists. He says, "it is evident that it does not require the Burmese inscriptions found on the spot to convince any one at all familiar with the architecture of the east that the building now standing there was built by the Burmese in the 13th or 14th century of our era." Whereas Professor Beal says that "the Great Temple at Gayâ was founded by a King of Ceylon⁴."

During Hwen Thsang's time, the Bodhi tree was enclosed by a stone wall, 12 feet high, the erection of which was attributed to Asoka. The remains of the foregoing Buddhist railing, which have been found bearing inscriptions in the Asoka character, General Cunningham regards as part of the stone wall described by the Chinese pilgrim. The railing he justly considers of great antiquity, which he holds is proved, without the aid of its inscriptions, merely by comparing it with the Buddhist railings of Sanchi and Mathura, and to these may now be added that of Bharhut.

The recent excavations, made under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Beglar of the Archæological Survey, have led to some most important results regarding the age of the temple, its structure, its relation to the original Bodhi tree, and to

¹ Archæological Reports, Vol. XI, 1880, p. 146.

² Buddha Gayâ, 1878, p. 247.

³ Cave Temples of India, 1880, p. 133.

⁴ Journ., Royal Asiat. Soc., Vol. XIII, p. 553 (1881)

the famous covered canopy known as Buddha's walk, the pillars of the greater portion of which were likewise laid bare ; also to the vajrāsan, on the west, beside the tree that had existed there for centuries. Around the temple, numerous groups of chaityas were exposed, all of which, along with the base of the railing enclosing the temple, were formerly buried in rubbish. I visited the excavations, in 1881, and had the pleasure of seeing the railing in position, and having gone to Buddha Gayā direct from a careful study of the Bharhut sculptures, the railing I at once recognised to have the same characters as the Bharhut sculptures and to be approximately of the same age. The various fragments preserved in this Museum, and built up as a rough restoration, illustrate the truth of this last remark.

The restoration is placed opposite to the entrance to the next gallery, and is based on information and measurements supplied by Mr. Beglar, but only the part immediately facing the doorway to the gallery is restored in its entirety, as there was not sufficient space for the whole being so treated.

P. A Besides the original portions the visitor will observe that the south-east corner pillar A is partially made up of a cast in plaster-of-Paris. The pillar from which this cast was taken was probably one from a side of a doorway. The pillar itself is now in the monastery of Buddha Gayā close to the ruin, and is shown, along with many other pillars of the Asoka railing, doing duty as a support of one of the inner verandahs of the Mahant's house. This bas-relief is described by General Cunningham as follows¹: "The subject is *Sūrya*, or the sun driving a four-horsed chariot, with two attendant archers shooting his ray-like arrows upon the earth. In this treatment, I think, that there is a decided evidence of Greek influence in the restricted

¹ Why should these pillars be allowed to remain where they are? As national property, they should be removed to their original site, and the Mahant should be recompensed for their removal.

number of the *four* horses attached to the chariot, for the Indian Sūrya, from the earliest times down to the present day, has always been represented as driving a chariot with *seven* horses. In the Rig Veda he drives "seven bay" or bright-backed steeds, and in all Brahmanical sculptures that I have seen there are seven horses carved on the pedestal, which are being driven by Aruna, while two attendants on each side shoot downwards the golden arrows of the solar rays¹. General Cunningham is of opinion therefore that this sculpture is evidence of the early influence of Greece on Indian sculpture, an art which he believes was in all probability introduced into India through the Punjab by the Eastern Greeks, as early as 300 B.C. He also records that there was a famous temple of the sun at Taxila, of which city Asoka was Governor during his father's life-time, and he supposes that the "Indians might have seen the Greek representations of the sun god, which was afterwards carried to Palibothra by either pure Greek or half-Greek sculptors." General Cunningham figured this chariot of the sun in 1873, and Dr. Mitra has, in 1878, given an admirable plate of this pillar. He so far gives his assent to these views of General Cunningham that he does not "deny that some sculptures have been met with in the north-western frontier, which are peculiarly Greek in their treatment," and he allows that the Greeks having exercised "supremacy in that part of the country for a long time, could not but leave the impress of their art in some cases;" but he goes on to say, "I cannot help denying that that impress has had anything to do with the origin, or the amelioration, of the Indian art."²

Above the foregoing chariot scene, there is a Buddhist railing in which the architrave, over the interspaces between the pillars, is supported by seated human figures. Over this

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 97; *vide* Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 116.

² Buddha Gayā, p. 176, Pl. I.

railing is a two-storied building, the lower portion consisting of an arched recess containing an altar bearing the chakra, surmounted by the trisul; the second storey being surrounded by a Buddhist railing. Below the bas-relief of the chariot of the sun, there is another Buddhist railing, and under it there are the upper halves of two standing human figures, a woman with her arms thrown over her head, and a man with his left hand under her chin. On the other side, there are small portions of three scenes, the uppermost being the worship of some Buddhist relic; the middle one, five figures and a child worshipping at the side of an altar with a tree; and the lowermost, a recess with some relics. The middle scenes are defined on their sides by octagonal pillars of the same character as those of the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa.

Presented by Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, C. I. E., 27th March 1879.

P. B. In the pillar to the right (B), there is a fragment of the upper portion of a pillar containing a half medallion, as in the Bharhut and other Buddhist railings. It represents the worship of the trisul by two men, their dress being much the same as in the figures of the Bharhut sculptures. The trisul has an altar in front of it, and it rests on a lotus disk or medallion.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

P. C. In the pillar (C), the 3rd pillar to the right, there is a fragment representing the chakra mounted on the heads of two lion-like animals with the human faces, and the capital, as it were, of a pillar resting on a throne or altar, on each side of which is a large banner and a garland of lotus flowers and buds. On the other side, a man is ploughing with two oxen. The plough resembles the plough of to-day. In front of the oxen there is an altar and two lotuses on their left.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

P. D. The 5th pillar from the right (D) has also a pillar-fragment built into it, representing the worship of the sacred tree *Albizia lebbek*.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

C. B. E.-I. The five cross-bars (E to I) are of the same age as the foregoing fragments, and like the Bharhut railing each bears a medallion on either side consisting of a lotus flower. The bars G, H, and I¹ were presented by Dr. Mitra and F and E by General Cunningham. They are either of granite or sandstone, and the two latter are inscribed. I am indebted to Dr. Mitra for the following translations of the inscription. The upper bar, E, is inscribed "amoghasa dana"—"The gift of Amogha," and the inscription on the middle bar, F, he observes "is the same as No. 3 of my 'Buddha Gayā,' p. 184, but the reading I copied from Cunningham² is not correct. The first letter is *bu* not *bo*, and the second *dha* not *dhi*. Making these alterations I get the reading, "*Budharakshitasa tabapanakasa dānam*"—"The gift of Budharakshita of Tabapanaka," i.e., of Japavanaka or Taprobane, Ceylon. The letters are all quite clear on the stone and I have no reason to doubt any one of them. My interpretation of "*tabapanaka*" is open to question, but, I believe, we have in it the original elements of Taprobane³."

The architrave consists of eight pieces, four of which were discovered by General Cunningham, but presented by Dr. Mitra, and four by the Archæological Survey. The subjects consist of mythical animals of much the same types and characters as those occurring on the Bharhut Stūpa.

¹ Archæological Reports, Vol. III, Pl. xxvi, lowest figures.

² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

³ See a Review of Dr. Mitra's work in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 142.

A. J. The first piece, J, has a rather long inscription along its lower margin on the side that bears the figures. The inscription¹, however, is of much later date than the coping, "as it is inserted in an antiquated form of the Gupta character², and cannot be earlier than the second century of the Christian era³. According to Dr. Mitra, it may be translated thus: "By the sage—a gift was made of money or tanká for a lamp for the teacher who—", and in connection with the inscription he remarks: "the character shows that the rails were resorted to many centuries after their erection for the record of a gift, which bore no relation to them, and in so far supporting the position assumed by me with reference to the meaning of the word *dana* in the first three inscriptions." Dr. Mitra is disposed to think⁴ "that the *dana* inscriptions were designed partly by wily, covetous priests, who, for a consideration, dispensed sanctity to ordinary mortal names by recording them on sacred edifices, and partly by a desire to buy celebrity or immortality at a cheap cost by having one's name recorded on buildings frequented by millions, and which were supposed to last to all but eternity,—a counterpart of that feeling which makes the modern tourists scribe their names under the dome of St. Peter." General Cunningham and Professor Dowson, however, are of opinion that the inscriptions are records of the donations of the objects on which they occur, and this seems to be the most likely explanation of how they originated in the majority of cases, if not in all. Above the inscription nine fabulous animals are represented in a line one following the other. They have the hinder portion of the body, from the shoulder backwards, converted into a coiled structure resembling the

¹ Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. III, p. 99, Pl. xxix, A1 B1, to A4 B4.

² Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³ See Indian Antiquary, Vol. 9, p. 142.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

hinder part of a triton and ending in a fish's tail, there being no hind limbs, but small fin-like bodies placed on the side. The fore-limbs are in a prancing attitude and have hoofs. This architrave was first figured by General Cunningham¹ in 1873, and afterwards in 1878 by Dr. Mitra². The fore-parts belong to animals well known in India, and are represented in pairs; they are, proceeding from the right to left, horned sheep, oxen, mythical tigers, elephants, and lions. The other side of this architrave is decorated with overlapping rosettes of the lotus flower seen from above and in profile.

Presented by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, C.I.E., 27th March 1879.

A. K. The animals on the next fragment (K), which is of sandstone, have been described by Dr. Mitra, and the sculpture figured by him³. He describes the three winged animals to the left as three centaurs followed by three running horses. These latter animals, however, cannot be correctly called horses, as they have tufted tails, or at least long short-haired tails, and their heads, moreover, are not those of horses; it would appear that they should be regarded as fabulous, quite as much as the so-called centaurs. These latter figures exactly resemble a well-carved large relief on the Bharhut architrave in which the details of the animals are brought out. The head is that of a man, and there is a mane, curved wings, and a horse's tail; but the feet are not hoofs but claws. In these figures, however, the feet would appear to be hoofs; and the tail is not that of a horse, but resembles the tails of the other figures: only these are shorter, and carried erect with a terminal curl. The other side of this architrave is occupied by a twig running

¹ *Op cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXIX, fig. D.

² *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI, figs. 6 a and 6 b.

³ *Op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 1.

in a regular wavy line, the intervals between the curves being occupied by flowers.

Presented by Dr. Rājendrālala Mitra, C.I.E., 27th March 1870

A. L. The next portion (L) has been figured by Dr. Mitra¹, and he remarks of the sculptures on it that they are "monsters formed of the fore-part of centaurs and the hind (*sic*) of a fish's tail curled." The fore-part of the body is human, and the face is directed outwards, but towards an emblem which I believe to represent a modification of the trisul, as each figure has its hands placed palm to palm in adoration. A modification of this emblem also occurs between the tails of the animals. The floral decoration on the other side of this architrave consists of overlapping leaves like scales in oblique series, three leaves and two halves to each row. Above this there is an inscription in Asoka characters which Dr. Mitra, who has been so kind as to translate it for me, reads thus: "*Gamitosa prajāvatīye jivaparaye Kuragiye dānam ramopāsa dāna nīkasā.*" He observes: "the first letter of the first word is somewhat doubtful; and as it forms the first letter of a proper name, the context does not help one. The name is *Gamito*. It is in the possessive case, and agrees with the fifth word *dānam*, a gift, "The gift of *Gamito*." The donee is *Kurage*, the cater of Furmenty noticed in No. 1 inscription in my Buddha Gayā. His first epithet is *pajāvatī*, which is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit *prajāpati*, lord of creatures. *Prajāvatī* in Sanskrit means "a mother of many children," but the dative affix *ye* is masculine, and I have no reason to doubt, therefore, that the second *p* has been in Pali changed into *v*,—a change which is common enough in the vernaculars. The second epithet is *jivāpara*, a compound of *jiva*, "living beings," and *apara*, friendly or "benevolent." The sixth word *ramopāsa* is a compound of

rama, meaning "love" or "pleasure," and *upasa*, "fasting," or "abstinence," i.e., one who abstains from pleasure, an ascetic or anchorite. This would make a very appropriate Buddhist name. It is compounded with the next word *dāna*, and the two words together mean "the gift of *Ramopāsa*." The last word is *nikāsa*, which means "like" or "similar," and with the two preceding words makes a compound meaning, "like the gift of *Ramopāsa*," i.e., the gift made by Gamito is similar to that of *Ramopāsa*. According to this interpretation, the meaning of the inscription is, "This gift, similar to that of *Ramopāsa* (is made by) Gamito to Kuragi, the lord of living beings, and friend of creation."

To this Dr. Mitra adds: "you are of course aware that I do not admit that this, like other records of its kind, necessarily implies the rail bar to be the object of the gift. My doubt would have been solved had we found a bar bearing the name of *Rámopāsa*, but we have not. As we now have the record, the comparison of the gift with that of *Ramopāsa* supports the idea that the object of the gift was not the bar on which the record occurs, but something else."

A. M. The next fragment (M) is of granite. On one side is a very badly carved horse in relief, preceded by two heavy-headed fabulous animals, with short legs and re-curved tails. These are forms which Dr. Mitra, after General Cunningham, has been inclined to regard as hippopotami, and to base, on the occurrence of such figures as these, the supposition that the hippopotamus was of so recent occurrence in India that legendary accounts had been handed down regarding it, and depicted on these sculptures. These heavy-bodied and large-headed animals seem, however, quite as much to resemble the rhinoceros as the hippopotamus, only they have no horns. Behind the horse, there is a device which appears to resemble the trisul, followed by another, which is so imperfect that it cannot be described. The opposite face of this stone

bears only that form of rosette which distinguishes the outer face of the architrave of the Bharhut railing.

Presented by Dr. Mitra, C.I.E., 27th March 1879.

- A. N. The next is another granite piece (N). The inner face of this fragment has only two figures, one to the left, resembling one of the heavy-bodied animals on the previous sculpture, but with this difference that the point of the nose is upwardly turned. Behind it appears to be the representation of a bird, with an obscure sculpture following it. The opposite side has the same form of rosette as the previous specimen.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

- A. O. The next piece (O) is also granite. It has two recumbent animals, a mixture of the rhinoceros and hippopotamus, one having a collar. On the other side, there are three lotus flowers, as in the Bharhut Stūpa, but the central one has its petals curved.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

- A. P. The next fragment (P) has two animals very much like the last, and plain lotus flowers on the outside.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

- A. Q. (Q) The upper half of a sandstone coping with a winged ram and lion.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

- A. R. In the south-west corner of this gallery, there is the base (R) of a pillar dug out from the ruins on the north side of the great temple close to its base, and where the excavations disclosed a double line of pillars with an intervening space which Mr. Beglar has identified with the canopied way that was erected over the spot where Buddha walked. The pillars were appar-

Pl. s. T. ently all of one kind, and of the type known as Persian, like the present example, which is marked with the Pali letter *a*. Alongside of this fragment there are two step-like plinths of the bases of columns (ST), and close by there is a quadrangular piece (U), a portion of the capital of a pillar, consisting of two leonine animals, side by side, as in the foregoing examples of capitals from Bharhut.

There are also two other quadrangular blocks (VW), probably parts of a pillar, but they are uncarved.

Another fragment (X), with a disk-like dilatation from which rises a rounded mass, so that it also was originally probably part of a bell-shaped capital.

A fragment (Y) of the fore-part of the figure of an animal, probably part of a capital.

A fragment (Z) with lateral scrolls, and one face sculptured with a trisular device resembling the one figured on the portion of the coping marked (B), and which was a favourite ornament at the time the Sanchi topes were erected, as it occurs in profusion on more than one pillar in the northern gateway of that structure, and two of the pillars with this ornament have been figured¹. This sculpture appears to have been fastened on to a cylindrical rod as it is perforated below by a deep round hole. Probably both sides were carved, but the other has been broken off.

All of these fragments were presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 11th July 1882.

Orissa.

Rock-cut Temples.

The visitor should now examine the casts of the friezes of the rock-cut temples of Orissa which are displayed on the east wall of the gallery. These casts were made, at the sug-

¹ "Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd Edn., figs 17 and 18.

gestion of Dr. Mitra, by the Calcutta School of Art, under the direction of Mr. H. H. Locke, the Principal of the School, the cost being defrayed by the Government of Bengal. These rock-cut temples occur in the low wooded hills that rise from the level delta of the Mahānaddī to the south of Katak. The hills in which they have been excavated are known as the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills, and Dr. Mitra¹, who has exhaustively described them, states that there are four separate prominences, each of which has a name: first, the south-eastern eminence called "Udayagiri," or Sunrise hill; the second "Khandagiri," or broken hill; the third, "Nilagiri," or blue hill, and fourth, "Dhavalagiri," or white hill. The rock out of which the temples are cut is a coarse sandstone not well adapted to fine work, but easily carved. Mr. Fergusson, in the "Cave Temples of India," observes: "the picturesqueness of their forms, the richness of their sculptures and architectural details, combined with their acknowledged antiquity, render them one of the most important groups of caves in India."

There is considerable difficulty in fixing their age, but Dr. Mitra says that "the Pāli character with which they are inscribed leaves no room for doubt that they must have been executed at an earlier date than the second century before Christ, for it is all but positively certain that that character had in the second century commenced to change, and was greatly modified in the first century before Christ." * * * This opinion is shared by Mr. Fergusson³, who says "that all those which are most interesting from an architectural point of view, were excavated during the three-and-a-half centuries which elapsed between the years 250 B. C. and 100 A. D. Some of the smaller and ruder examples may be earlier,

¹ The Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

³ "Cave Temples," p. 65, Pl. I.

but none of them have any characteristics which would lead us to assign to them a more modern epoch than that just quoted."

The general art features of these sculptures, the manner in which the people are dressed, and the character of their ornaments all point to the conclusion that they and the Bharhut Stūpa railings are in all probability of nearly the same age. In these Orissa bas-reliefs, the human figure and the representations of animals, such as the horse and elephant, are generally distinguished by a greater vigour and truthfulness of execution than in the Bharhut sculptures. Indeed, some of the human figures are full of life and action, with the muscles well portrayed and tolerably true to nature.

The caves are all Buddhist, as is seen by the Buddhist railing which forms part of the ornament in all, and by the presence of the Bodhi tree in some, and certain Buddhist symbols in others. They were doubtless originally used as the cells of hermits and continued as such for many centuries. They are not the only Buddhist remains in the district, because, about six miles to the south-east of them, the famous Indian King Asoka, who lived about 250 B.C. and who was a convert to Buddhism, had caused some of his famous edicts to be carved on the Aswatama rocks, near Dhauli¹. But prior to this, about 300 to 325 B.C., the Kalinga King Aira engraved his autobiography over the *Hāthi Gumphā*, or Elephant cave in these hills. But besides his inscription and the edicts of Asoka, this portion of Orissa was very sacred in the eyes of Buddhists, as one of the relics of Buddha (a tooth) was after his cremation enshrined in the city of Dantapuri, to which Puri of the present day in all likelihood corresponds, and in

¹ A copy of this inscription in plaster-of-Paris was taken by Mr. H. H. Locke; but as the castings were made in sections which overlap each other, it has hitherto been impossible to have them cut down, as to do so correctly would require the supervision of an accomplished Pali scholar.

the famous temple of which Jagannāth¹ is now worshipped. The present temple probably took the place of the Chaitya in which the Tooth Relic was originally kept, and where it remained for many centuries until it was carried off to Ceylon, in the fourth century of our era.

There are in all seven large caves with a number of smaller ones, chief among which are the *Bāgh*, *Sārpā*, and *Pāvana* caves.

The large caves are, first, the *Hāthi Gumphā*, a rude, almost natural cave with the autobiography of the king of Kalinga inscribed on the smooth brow of the hill above it; second, the *Rānī Naur*; third, the *Jayā Vijayā*; fourth, the *Ganesā*; fifth the *Ānanta*; sixth, the *Vaikuntha*; and seventh, the *Svargapurī*.

The *Rānī Naur*, or Queen's Palace, is situated in the Udaya-giri hill, and consists of two storeys facing the west, and two wings, occupying three sides of a square court-yard. The lower verandah is 43 feet long, and the upper 63 feet. On the ground-floor, the verandah has three cells, and one cell at its southern end. The central cell of the verandah is entered by three doors, and those on either side of it by two doors each². External to the verandah, and in the angles formed by the wings, is a small highly carved pavilion on each

¹ General Cunningham,* many years ago, pointed out that the trisul-like figure of Jagannāth at Puri, consisting of Jagannāth and his brother Balaram and their sister Subhadra, was derived from three of the combined emblems of the Buddhist Trinity, placed side by side, as they are represented in the carvings of the Sanchi tope. But some years before this, the Reverend Dr. Stephenson had mentioned that the memory of the ancient Buddhist rites was still preserved and celebrated at Jagannāth, and General Sykes afterwards called attention to the circumstance that according to Fa Hian, the tooth festival, and the modern Rath-jatra occur in the same month, and Mr. Laidlay states that the modern procession of Jagannāth originated in the Buddhist practice de-

² A plan of this cave is exhibited in the gallery; also a vertical section of it, to show the relations of the two floors to each other.

* *Bhilsa Topes* " (1854), p. 358."

side. The ground-floor of the right wing consists of a deep verandah and a single cell with three doors, while the left wing consists of three cells, a central cell facing the south, with a cell on each side of it. On the second storey, there are four cells, each with two doors. The right wing has one cell and the left two. The doors leading into the cells are quadrangular, but each has an arch projecting over it, and resting on pilasters of which there are casts in the gallery, and the interspaces between the arches are occupied with bas-reliefs. Those on the ground-floor of the centre of the temple are much effaced, but those in the verandah of the right wing and in the verandah of the second storey having been protected by the verandah roof from the effects of the weather, have been tolerably preserved. External to the pavilions, and at the angle formed with the wings, two human figures occur on each side of the court-yard dressed in tight-fitting garments, one holding a club and the other a spear, and on the second floor other human figures are placed near the wings. One of them is a soldier, and a cast of this figure is in this gallery, near the entrance.

- A. The cast¹ (A) is from the first floor, and the description begins from the north end of the eastern wall of this gallery. It was taken from the northern door of the first floor as far as the fourth door, but has in addition a considerable portion of the bas-relief that intervenes between the fourth and fifth doors. It will be observed that the bottom of this relief, as in the sculptures from the other caves, has a Buddhist railing running along it. Mr. Fergusson states that in this cave, "there is an almost total absence of all the Buddhist symbols, or objects of worship, which we find in the Ânanta, the Jaya Vijaya, or Vaikuntha caves," but he fancied he could "detect the trisula and shield over two doorways, but there certainly are no dagobas, no wheels, nor are there any trees as objects of worship, and Srî

¹ See Dr. Mitra's *Ant. of Orissa*, Pls. VI to XI.

too is absent¹." In this cast, however, in addition to the Buddhist railing, the trisul is very apparent over the arch of the first doorway and of the one adjoining it, and over one at least of the doorways of the ground-floor of the right wing, and the swastika is unmistakably represented on the cave, in front of which a combat with elephants takes place. On the frieze of the ground-floor of the right wing is a scene in which a woman is dancing below a canopy, and there also, the front of the canopy is ornamented by some symbols of chaityas or pyramids of steps, and intervening lotus flowers such as occur all along the architrave of the Bharhut Stūpa, on both of its sides. The floral and other scrolls around the arches also are of the same kind as those on the Bharhut Stūpa in which a lotus stem issues from the mouth of an elephant in regular undulations, as already described. In the Orissa scrolls, elephants are not the only animals so represented, but some others of a mythical character are introduced. There can therefore be very little doubt that the Rānī Naur cave is of Buddhist origin, and that it is as old as the Stūpa of Bharhut. Mr. Fergusson does not mention all of these features of this temple, but we have the weight of his authority in favour of the foregoing conclusion, as he says the age of the Ānanta cave can be determined with precision from the fact of its architectural ornaments being identical with those of the Bharhut Stūpa.

The first figure in this cast (A) represents a man running with a tray in one hand covered either with garlands, or fruits, and with garlands around his other out-stretched arm. The attitude has evident relation to the filling up of the narrow area that had to be ornamented between the arch of the first door and the neighbouring wall. But figures of this character, in which the running attitude became afterwards modified into a conventional position with the legs thrown

¹ "Cave Temples," p. 80.

up backwards, occur at the sides of the heads of figures of Buddha in more recent Buddha Gayā sculptures. Immediately to the right of the trisul, surmounting the arch, is a minute representation of an arched cave with two elephants in it. This has been described by Dr Mitra but not by Mr. Fergusson. It may have been introduced as having some bearing on the next scene, in which three elephants are represented fighting with a group of persons in front of a cave, the face of which bears a large figure of the swastika which has been pointed out by Dr. Mitra¹, but not mentioned by Mr. Fergusson. Dr. Mitra is disposed to regard the presence of the swastika as indicating the miniature cave to be the Elephant cave with the famous inscription which begins with a swastika, and in this he may be correct. Two elephants in front show a vigorous fight against a stalwart man and a number of women who are attacking them with clubs and other weapons. The man, who has raised a large club to deal a blow on one of the elephants that has already fallen on its haunches, is a well-executed figure, full of action, and with the muscles well displayed and portrayed with a good deal of truthfulness. At his side, there is a woman with her right arm raised to throw an object at the same animal, but a woman near her has caught hold of her other arm and is pulling her away, whilst another woman has seized the man by his waist-belt and left leg, and is trying to restrain him. Another woman, further back, is also throwing something at the same elephant, whilst a woman in front of her is assisting to raise a wounded person who is in the act of rising. This is the only figure of which there can be any doubt regarding the sex. Behind this, another wounded woman is being dragged away, and close by stand three women, one of whom is clasping her hands, evidently in fear. Beyond there are trees, and at the side of the apex of the next arch a *hansa* is represented. No

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

one has yet been able to throw any light on this scene. Mr Fergusson regards the woman who stands by the side of the man as probably a Yakshiṇī, as he says her locks are curly, but in this cast there are no indications of curls, and her hair is brushed backwards in the same way as the man's. One woman, however, in the back-ground, behind these figures, has her hair done up in large transverse ridges. The head-dresses in this group differ from those found in the Bharhut Stūpa, but the heavy ear and neck ornaments are the same. It will be observed that the man wears bracelets like a woman.

The next is a remarkable scene, and it begins, like the previous one, by a cave in a mountain, at the side of the apex of the arch. In the cave, two monkeys, *Macacus rhesus*, are looking round at what appears to be a snake coming out of the neighbouring rocks and pursuing them. Close to this there is the doorway of a house with an arch over the quadrangular entrance, in front of which sits a man, apparently ill, depressed, or asleep, his head resting on the lap of his wife whose right arm is around his neck and her hand resting on his shoulder. The centre of the scene represents a combat between a man and a woman over the body of a fallen combatant; but on either side of this group there are other figures, those on the left consisting of a woman leading a wounded or vanquished warrior towards the man and woman seated in front of the house, while to the right another warrior, who is the victor, is carrying off in his arms, sword in hand, an amazon who has fallen into the arms of war and of love. One arm of the fair captive is stretched out, pointing either to the single combat still in progress, or to the vanquished warrior. She has lost her sword, but carries away her shield. The shields have a large projection in front, somewhat resembling a trisul. A shield allied to those used by these amazons, in its trisular character, occurs on a sarcophagus¹ pur-

¹ "Ancient Marbles, British Museum," Part X. 1845, p. 115, Pl. XLV.

chased from the Camaldoli, near Frascati. That group consists of six amazons reposing, or in the act of rising from a seated attitude. Before each, there is a trisular shield differing from these Orissa shields in the non-trisular border being rounded. The Orissa swords are sharp and expanded towards the point, in two instances with a longitudinal mesial ridge, while the sword of the man fighting is sharp and slightly curved and without a central ridge, whereas that of the man carrying off the woman is short and straight, and with a midrib. The head-dress, ornaments, and clothing are very like those of the people of the Bharhut Stūpa. Two small dogs with curly tails fill up a space that otherwise would have been blank between the captive amazon's shield and the apex of the next arch.

The scene that follows is equally interesting. The space at the side of the apex of the arch is occupied by a bird flying; then follows a group consisting of five persons, the prominent figure towards the right being a man of distinction, who has dismounted from his horse, which stands beside him held by his groom. Two attendants are behind him, one with an umbrella and chauri, and the other with a club-like structure held over his right shoulder, while behind this servant there is another with an object like a chaitya hanging from a pole over his shoulder. The king or raja is standing beside a tree, and has just shot an arrow from his bow at a winged animal resembling a black buck, and below which some other animal occurs. Immediately to the right of the flying antelope, the raja or king is again represented standing, bow in hand, by himself, with what seems to have been a representation of the winged black buck lying at his feet below a tree (*Saraca indica*), in which a naked woman is seated among the branches. The figures in this scene have very much the same dresses and ornaments of the Bharhut figures, and the bow in the hand of the second representation of the raja is exactly like that in the deer Jātaka as sculptured on

the Bharhut railing. The horse too is caparisoned like the horses of the Bharhut Stūpa.

The adjoining scene, on the other side of the fourth doorway, has been so much effaced that it has been difficult to make it out. But after a careful scrutiny, it seems to represent a bacchanalian scene, or at least one approaching that character. A huge person is sitting on a chair attended by women, one woman in front of him holding what appears to be a wassail bowl in one hand, while with the other she handles what may be a spoon, and her attitude is as if she were preparing to administer the nectar to her obese master or husband who, however, holds up his hand deprecatingly as if to say "I have had enough." Behind him there are three female attendants, one with her arm round his neck. To the right of all these figures, but close to them, three women are seated on the ground, the one to the left playing a harp, the one to the right a long drum, whilst the woman between them has her back towards the spectators and both hands upraised. In front of her, however, there is a musical instrument, as the ends are seen on both sides of her, and on comparing this figure with the figure with upraised hands in the dancing scene in the frieze of the left wing, it is apparent that this also is a musician. This group of musicians sits in front of three female dancers, but the figures are so defaced that only very careful observation has led to this interpretation of the scene. At the end of this portion of the cast, there are the remains of two figures seated much in the same attitude as the two figures seen in the upper left hand corner of figure 1, Pl. xxxvii, of "Tree and Serpent Worship." Alongside the couch on which they sit, there is an object resembling that carried over his shoulder by the man in the previous bas-relief, while beside it, there is a dwarf or child with upheld hands and resembling the little figure in the dance of the Apsarases on the corner pillar of the southern gateway of the

Bharhut Stūpa. That the huge seated figure is a man there can be little doubt, as the head-dress and neck ornament are those of a man, and, like the muscular figure attacking the elephants, he also is surrounded by women. He wears large bracelets, as does also the king or raja of the previous scene. The probability is that all of these stories are Jātakas, but none of them have hitherto been accurately described, if these casts are correct.

- B. The next cast (B), from the same verandah, has all the characters of the scenes depicted on the front compartment of the northern gateway, and on a fallen pillar of the western gateway of Sanchi, as pointed out by Mr. Fergusson. There are three groups, each consisting of a man and a woman represented in a different attitude, but no details can be made out, except that a table, with food on it, is in front of the central couple. The next cast (C) is an ornamental figure of a character similar to the first figure on the frieze (A).

- D.-G. The next four casts¹ (D to G) are from the friezes of the ground-floor. The first (D) is a two-storied dwelling with a Buddhist railing in front of it, and four figures looking out of the arched doorways and verandah, a high tree growing close by its side. The house is evidently a wooden structure, and, like the temple itself and wihāras of later times, the second storey is built farther back than the ground-floor. The roof has all the characters of a thatched roof. The next scene E is a group of nine persons, men and women, one of them being a child or young person, but they are so much weathered that it is impossible to determine what the scene is intended to represent. Two of the figures are kneeling, and others are apparently carrying offerings. The principal figure is a man over whom an umbrella appears to be held by an attendant. The cast that follows (F) has a portion of a scene on each side of an archway, but nothing can be

¹ Dr. Mitra, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

the Bharhut railing. The horse too is caparisoned like the horses of the Bharhut Stūpa.

The adjoining scene, on the other side of the fourth doorway, has been so much effaced that it has been difficult to make it out. But after a careful scrutiny, it seems to represent a bacchanalian scene, or at least one approaching that character. A huge person is sitting on a chair attended by women, one woman in front of him holding what appears to be a wassail bowl in one hand, while with the other she handles what may be a spoon, and her attitude is as if she were preparing to administer the nectar to her obese master or husband who, however, holds up his hand deprecatingly as if to say "I have had enough." Behind him there are three female attendants, one with her arm round his neck. To the right of all these figures, but close to them, three women are seated on the ground, the one to the left playing a harp, the one to the right a long drum, whilst the woman between them has her back towards the spectators and both hands upraised. In front of her, however, there is a musical instrument, as the ends are seen on both sides of her, and on comparing this figure with the figure with upraised hands in the dancing scene in the frieze of the left wing, it is apparent that this also is a musician. This group of musicians sits in front of three female dancers, but the figures are so defaced that only very careful observation has led to this interpretation of the scene. At the end of this portion of the cast, there are the remains of two figures seated much in the same attitude as the two figures seen in the upper left hand corner of figure 1, Pl. xxxvii, of "Tree and Serpent Worship." Alongside the couch on which they sit, there is an object resembling that carried over his shoulder by the man in the previous bas-relief, while beside it, there is a dwarf or child with upheld hands and resembling the little figure in the dance of the Apsarases on the corner pillar of the southern gateway of the

Bharhut Stūpa. That the huge seated figure is a man there can be little doubt, as the head-dress and neck ornament are those of a man, and, like the muscular figure attacking the elephants, he also is surrounded by women. He wears large bracelets, as does also the king or raja of the previous scene. The probability is that all of these stories are Jātakas, but none of them have hitherto been accurately described, if these casts are correct.

B. The next cast (B), from the same verandah, has all the characters of the scenes depicted on the front compartment of the northern gateway, and on a fallen pillar of the western gateway of Sanchi, as pointed out by Mr. Fergusson. There are three groups, each consisting of a man and a woman represented in a different attitude, but no details can be made out, except that a table, with food on it, is in front of the central couple. The next cast (C) is an ornamental figure of a character similar to the first figure on the frieze (A).

C. D.-G. The next four casts¹ (D to G) are from the friezes of the ground-floor. The first (D) is a two-storied dwelling with a Buddhist railing in front of it, and four figures looking out of the arched doorways and verandah, a high tree growing close by its side. The house is evidently a wooden structure, and, like the temple itself and wihāras of later times, the second storey is built farther back than the ground-floor. The roof has all the characters of a thatched roof. The next scene E is a group of nine persons, men and women, one of them being a child or young person, but they are so much weathered that it is impossible to determine what the scene is intended to represent. Two of the figures are kneeling, and others are apparently carrying offerings. The principal figure is a man over whom an umbrella appears to be held by an attendant. The cast that follows (F) has a portion of a scene on each side of an archway, but nothing can be

¹ Dr. Mitra, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

- made out beyond that on the left a riding-horse and three figures are represented, while, on the other side of the arch, there is a group of four persons, two carrying swords on their shoulders, and the third an umbrella over the principal figure, probably a raja. In the last cast of this series (G), three women are carrying offerings and three others are kneeling and presenting offerings.
- G. The next is an elongated cast¹ (H) from the western side of the southern small pavilion, in the angle formed by the main mass of the building and the right wing, and which Mr. Fergusson supposes to correspond to the pavilion enclosing the staircases of a typical wihāra. The scene is intended to represent hills, rocks, and forests, with fruit trees, the rocks forming caves, one of them being an arched cavern like the little cave on the first frieze, and a small recess with an owl in it. In front, there is a sheet of water in which elephants are enjoying a bath.
- H. The last cast from this cave² (I) is from the verandah of the right wing on the ground-floor, in its whole length, embracing the three doorways. The first compartment contains a man, two women, and a dwarf, one of the women carrying offerings and the other two standing in the attitude of reverence. Where anklets and bracelets occur on the women in these friezes, they are the great heavy rings such as those now seen on the aborigines of Central India. The next scene apparently represents the people comprised in the first group of the last scene in A, but, here, three of them are seated, the man between two women, in the attitude of adoration, the two other women holding offerings. The head-dresses are different from those met with in the Bharhut Stūpa, or in the other figures of this frieze, with the exception of those in the previous compartment, and in the last scene of A. The next

¹ Dr. Mitra, *Op. cit.*, Pl. xx, fig. A 12.

² *Ibid*, Pls. XIII and XIV.

scene has been already mentioned; it is a nautch under a canopy, the front of which is ornamented with the symbol of the chaitya and with the lotus, exactly corresponding to these objects on the coping of the Bharhut Stūpa, as already pointed out. These scenes would appear to correspond to those represented on the bas-relief of the southern gateway of the great Stūpa at Sanchi figured and described by Mr. Fergusson at Pl. xxx, fig. 1, of his work. Five women are engaged in the nautch, one dancing under the canopy, the others playing musical instruments, one a flute, another a harp, whilst the next below her has her hands upraised, as in the figure in the dancing scene in the frieze of the first floor, and with a long drum on her lap, while the other seems to be playing an instrument in front of her. The last scene, in this frieze of the wing, contains three figures, and part of a fourth. The principal figure is evidently a raja, judging from his plumed head-dress, followed by his wife and child, the wife carrying a tray of offerings in the left hands. A tree enters into the composition, and the figure in advance is also carrying offerings.

The *Sārpā* cave, one of the series of small caves, is not of much importance. It is described by Dr. Mitra¹ as a small central cell (four feet), with a door only large enough to admit a man crawling. On the side of the door, there is a short inscription in Pali, in the same characters as those on the Bharhut Stūpa, and probably of the same age as the great inscription of the Kalinga King, Aira, on the Elephant cave. The inscription, as given by Dr. Mitra, is "*Chulakamasa kothājayācha-kamasa-rikhi nayache pasāde*," which is rendered "The impregnable or unequalled chamber of Chulakarma, and the appropriate temple (or place) of Karma Crishi." Over the door is a semi-circular tympanum, with a rude carving (J) of the hood of a three-headed cobra.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 30, Pl. xx, fig. E. 1.

K. The next frieze to the left¹ (K) is from the *Ananta*, a cave of irregular construction and consisting of a room, 24 feet 6 inches long by 7 feet deep, and a verandah, with three pillars, 27 feet long and 5 wide. The room is longer in front than within, while these proportions are reversed in the verandah. There were originally four doors into the chamber and a similar number to the verandah. A plan of the cave is suspended in the gallery. The cast is the portion from between the two pillars that remain standing, one having fallen. On the outer side of each of these arches, and between them, there are two conventional figures, like those of the frieze of the Rānī Naur cave, each carrying offerings, and delineated in a kind of flying attitude between pillars with bell-shaped capitals and Persipolitan bases. The pillars support an architrave, over which project the ends of cross-beams on which portions of a Buddhist railing rest, and symbolic chaityas like step-pyramids, with lotus flowers between, as on the Bharhut architrave. Each arch is surmounted by a trisul, and resting on the arch is the body of a three-headed cobra which raises itself high on each side of the arch. The space under the arch to the right is occupied by a Bodhi tree surrounded by a railing, with a woman to the right and a man to the left making offerings of garlands, and attended by two dwarf-like figures, one carrying a lotah with a spout, or in other words a kettle, and the other another vessel, as well as a tray, each with offerings. These figures evidently assume the character of dwarfs, only because the arch would not admit of their being represented larger, and it was necessary to introduce attendants to be *en règle*. The way the hair is dressed in large transverse convex masses is peculiar, but it also occurs among some of the figures of the Rānī Naur cave. The ornamental band running round the arch consists of *hansas* in curious positions. Under the next arch, that to the left, is

¹ Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 31, Pls. XXII and XXIII.

the worship of Sri, who is represented standing in a coil of lotus stems with one in each hand rising from her feet, passing upwards over her shoulders, and expanding into a flower on each side of her head, held up by the trunk of an elephant standing on a lotus capsule, on each side of the consort of Vishnu. External to the elephants, there is another flower on each side surmounted by a long-tailed bird resembling a peacock. Around the arch, the ornament consists of men in various attitudes, grouped with representations of mythical and real animals.

L. The frieze to the left ¹(L) is from the *Ganesā*, a small cave consisting of two cells, each with two doors and with a verandah in front of it, 30 feet long by 6 feet deep. It is called the *Ganesā* cave after the Hindu deity, because the steps leading to the verandah are flanked on each side by an elephant holding a garland in its trunk. One of these garlands is exhibited in the gallery and in this cast the end of the elephant's trunk is quite distinct. Only two bas-reliefs occur on the interspaces, as the central one is blank with the exception of a Buddhist railing, and three chaityas in front of it. The first relief consists apparently of a number of episodes in one story, and evidently four in number. In each of the scenes, with the exception of the first, which is at the left end of the bas-relief, three figures occur, evidently the same persons in each scene. In the first scene, these three persons are also present, and they are represented mounted on an elephant, and pursued in a forest by four kilted warriors, the foremost of whom has been killed by one of them. This elephant party consists of a woman who is acting as driver, a warrior behind her, who is represented shooting an arrow at the foremost of their pursuers, and a man who is seated far back on the elephant, stretching downwards, and cutting off the head of his fallen kilted foe, grasping it by the hair. In the

¹ Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Pls. xv and xvi.

next scene, the elephant party has escaped and has dismounted from the elephant which is still kneeling, the woman standing by its head, the warrior at its side, and the other man behind it. In the following scene, the woman with her hand on the warrior's shoulder is being led away by him, both being followed by the other warrior. Each is carrying some object, but the stone having been so weathered it is impossible to make out what the cast represents. In the last scene, the woman is half reclining, and in front of her the first warrior is probably entreating her to be consoled as he kneels before her with clasped hands. Above, and to the right, the figure of the other warrior appears holding some instrument. The kilt and sword of the pursuers recall the figure of the soldier that occurs in the Rānī Naur cave, and a cast of which is in this gallery, but unfortunately the head-dress of the figure is imperfect. The two principal figures of the elephant party have high and broad head-dresses, apparently different from those represented on the Bharhut railing, as far as can be made out. It is impossible to say whether this scene illustrates a Jātaka or some legend of Orissa.

The last bas-relief of this frieze is a repetition of the abduction scene on the Rānī Naur cave, but in this cave the group in front of the house is in a different attitude, the man reclining at full length resting his head on his bent right arm, the woman, leaning on his bent left leg, having raised herself to receive the conquered warrior led in by an amazon, his victor. Above the entrance to the house of this couple is a swastika. The remaining scenes are the same. Mr. Ferguson¹ considers the attitudes of the figures more easy and graceful than those of the Rānī Naur, and the sculpturing very superior to them. The figures, however, are much smaller than in that cave and not so well proportioned². To

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

² See "Antiquities of Orissa," Vol. II, p. 44, and foot note.

give an idea of the proportion prevailing in this bas-relief, it may be mentioned that the head of the figure fighting with the amazon is contained only two-and-a-half times in the rest of the body, and this proportion prevails in all the figures except the reclining man and woman, whereas in the Rānī Naur figures the proportion is the more natural one of nearly 1 to 5. The semi-circular bands around the tympana, and each of which is surmounted by the trisul, consist of an undulated stem issuing out of the mouth of one of those fabulous animals, crocodile, elephant and fish, so frequently represented on the Bharhut Stūpa, and the ornaments are either of trisular devices and rosettes, or of animals and men following each other in various attitudes.

All of these friezes present characters which are found in the Bharhut Stūpa, and the probability is that they were carved about the same time as that monument.

M. The next frieze to the left (M) is from the *Jayā-Vijyā* cave, which has two storeys one over the other, and not as in the Rānī Naur cave. The frieze resembles that of the latter and of the Ganesā cave in having the bas-relief between the arches of the doors, and in this respect differs from the Ānanta cave in which two scenes are figured in the tympana. External to either of the two arches over the doorways, a dwarfed semi-nude human figure is in the attitude of running, and carrying a tray and garlands; the garlands of the figure to the right having been broken off. The scene between the arches is the worship of the Bodhi tree, which is surrounded by a low Buddhist railing. There are two figures on each side of the tree, one, in each case, being a woman carrying a tray or flat basket of offerings. The two figures next the tree appear to be men. The figure to the left, which is undoubtedly a man, has no earrings, which is an exception to the general custom, and he appears to wear a short coat. The tree is decorated by an umbrella and is an example of

the Bodhi tree of the last Buddha, Gotama. The semi-circular bands over the tympana are ornamented with floral devices issuing from the mouth of the same fabulous animal as in the Ganesā cave¹.

S. Along the wall, the visitor will find six casts² (N to S) of the pilasters that supported these friezes, a capital of one of which has been moulded along with the frieze of the Jayā-Vijayā cave. All of these pilasters are characterized by capitals generally consisting of two recumbent animals, cattle, antelopes or goats, and lion-like creatures, many of them winged. With the exception of the one (N) from the Ānanta cave, they have a portion of the middle of the pilaster bevelled off into an octagon, the remainder being quadrangular. The capital rests on two or three overlapping slabs, the smallest below, and the bases of the pilasters resemble reversed capitals in this respect. The Ānanta pilaster differs from all the others in having a much depressed bell-shaped capital and a Persipolitan base; the body of the pilaster being quadrangular, but very narrow, and ornamented with vertical lines of rosettes, each rosette enclosed in a quadrangular space, that is, connected with the one above it by an intermediate band. The upper and lower portion of each face is occupied with a semi-medallion resembling those on the pillars of the Bharhut Stūpa.

T. At the back of the next cast, there is cast³ (T) of the garland held by one of the elephants of the Ganesā temple. A lotus flower occupies the centre, and above it the elephant's trunk is seen, the nostrils being very visible.

U. Near the entrance to the gallery is a cast⁴ (U) of the figure of the soldier from the Rānī Naur cave, about 4 feet 3 inches in height. It is cut in bold relief, and is standing with the right

¹ Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX.

² Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV.

³ Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX, fig. c. 6.

⁴ Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. Pl. XXIV.

arm akimbo, and the other across his chest. It is a kilted figure, and, like the soldier from the Bharhut Stūpa, has a short plaited tight-fitting coat open in front, but reaching to the knees. A long scarf or *du-paṭṭā* is thrown over the left shoulder over which his sword is also hung. The sword is moderately long and slightly expanded towards its tip, and the plain handle has a round hilt. The sword is of the same character as that held by the man carrying away the woman, in the abduction scene of the same temple. Dr. Mitra¹ and Mr. Fergusson² have described and figured this statue.

Patna.

Turning now to the south, the visitor will observe two statues, standing between two portions of the Bharhut railing, one statue without its head (P. 1.) and the other with its head much defaced (P. 2). The headless figure has its feet, but in the other, the feet have been restored. In the Catalogue of Curiosities, in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, prepared in 1843, by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, at that time Assistant Secretary and Librarian to the Society, two figures, which were probably these two, are described thus: No. 939, "a colossal human figure (head mutilated)" and 940, "a human figure 5 feet 6 inches high," but beyond this brief description no other information is recorded regarding them.

As they appeared to be of great age, and as each bears an

¹ Dr. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pl. XXIV.

² Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess have devoted two chapters of their work on the "Cave Temples of India" to the consideration of the Orissa Cave Temples, and have accompanied their account with plans and some photographs of the casts; and Mr. Fergusson has also described them (with a plate), in the 2nd Ed. of "Tree and Serpent Worship."

inscription on the back of its left shoulder, the records of donations printed in the Appendices to the Asiatic Researches were carefully gone over, and in Volume XIV, Appendix III, page 9, two large statues found under-ground at Patna are recorded as having been presented by J. Tytler, Esq. As these were the only two large statues without a history, it was concluded that they were the two in question, and in going over the records of the Society in search of information regarding them, a letter from Mr. J. Tytler was found, dated December 1820, in which he announced the despatch from Patna by boat of "two stone statues bearing evident marks of great antiquity" . . . They attracted the attention of his brother Robert Tytler, when he was on his way from Calcutta to Allahabad, and it was at his suggestion that they were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He continues, "the figures consist (as probably you already know) of one image without a head and another smaller than the first without feet." He understood that long before they came into his possession they were dug out of a field near Patna, and that in the same spot there was a third image still unremoved, but where the spot was he could never learn; and he goes on to remark that this was all the account he could give of them, but that it did not tend to cast any light on their origin, which therefore, if it were thought an object of importance and of curiosity, might be left to form a subject for the thesis of some unborn antiquarian. No mention is made of the inscriptions, which, doubtless, is to be explained by the circumstance that they are on the backs of the figures. Moreover, they are short and carved on a surface representing a plaited scarf or *du-paṭṭā* thrown over the shoulder, the plaits of which obscure the letters and make them difficult to decipher; but I am indebted to Dr. Mitra for the following note regarding them. No. 1 is on P. 2, No. II on P. I.

"The inscriptions have puzzled me a good deal, and even now I am not perfectly satisfied that I have come to their right interpretation. No. 1 has nine letters, of which the **fourth is incorrect**, the sixth illegible, and the ninth doubtful. The first three are unmistakable, and I read them *go ti* and *pu*, and to complete the word I want a dental *t* which would produce the name *Gotiputa*, the son of Goti, noticed in the large inscription on the Bharhut pillar; but the record gives a cerebral *dh*. If I may assume the *dh* to be due to a mistake on the part of the engraver and the letter is *t*, the name would be *Gotiputa*, otherwise it should be *Gotipudha*. The root *puḍh* in Sanskrit has four meanings, to cover, to quit, to grind, to rub; but none of these affords an appropriate sense with *goti*. I prefer therefore the first branch of the alternative. The fifth letter is unquestionably *bh*, and the smudgy outlines of the sixth is like *ksho*; and I take the two letters together to stand for *bhiksho*, 'of a mendicant.' The next letter is *tá* (cerebral), but it must be read *dá* (dental), and the one following it, is either *ta* or *na*. In the second inscription it is clearly *na*. The last is a perpendicular stroke which in Páli is equal to *ra*, but in later writings it is equal to a full stop. In old Páli such a stroke, however, was never used as a mark of punctuation, and I must therefore take it for *ra*. The three letters together thus may be read as *dátara* or *dánara*, and the whole inscription will stand thus:—

In Nágari variants गो ति पु त भि क्षो दा ता र.

In Roman letters go ti pu ta bhi ksho dá ta ra.

"The second inscription has eight letters, of which the first two are perfectly clear. The third is doubtful, but I take it for *dá*. The fourth and the fifth are unmistakable. The sixth is the counterpart of the seventh of the first inscription. The seventh is an *n*, and the last I take to be the same as the ninth of the first inscription. It is however of

a very doubtful appearance. The letters may be thus arranged :—

ट	ग	दा(?)	स	सं	दा	न	र (?)
ta	ga	dā	sa	sa	dā	na	ra.

“The meaning of the two records turns on that of the last word. The meaning of the root *dā* is ‘to give or ‘to cut or carve,’ and with *ra* affixed, it would mean ‘he who gives or carves’ (*dātam chhedanam rāti, dadāti vā karati iti dātarah*) or *da* ‘a gift’ with the affix *tara* (*dā dānam vā chhedanam atisayārthe tara pratyah.*) If the reading be *dānara*, the meaning would be a statue or image, from *dā* ‘to carve,’ and *nara* ‘a man,’ the derivation being *da chhinna vā khodita narah*, or *dayā chhedanena kritā narah*. If the first letter of the word be taken as it appears on the records for *ṭā*, the meaning would again be a statue, from *ṭā*, ‘earth,’ and *nara*, ‘a man made of earth.’ I do not, however, like this reading, as it necessitates the assumption of a metaphor—earth standing for stone, the statues being made of stone. Had a gift been intended, it is certain that the well-known word *dāna*, which was in common and extensive currency, would have at once been used; but, that not having been done, I believe a different idea was intended, and that appears to be an image or statue. The derivation is unimpeachable, and the meaning not inconsistent. Neither *dātara* nor *dānara*, however, is to be met with in any dictionary, and the question may be asked why was so uncommon a word used when there were more correct words at hand to imply an image? Perhaps the most current word, *pratimā*, was always used to imply an idol or a divinity, and a new or uncommon word was needed for a human statue. Whether so or not, I can work only on the word as I see it in the inscriptions, and that I cannot interpret in any other way. Accepting the word to mean a statue, the meaning of the first inscription will be—the statue of the mendicant Gotiputa; and of the second—the statue of Tagadāsa.

"The second name is very uncommon, but it is explainable. The letter *ṭa* in Sanskrit means 'sound,' and *ga* means 'going;' *Ṭaga* would, therefore, mean one who has gone to sound, or vacuity, *i.e.*, one who has attained *nirvána*, and as *dása* means 'a slave,' we have a servant of one who had attained *nirvána*, *i.e.*, Buddha.

"The letters are of the old Páli type, and the records must be over two thousand years old."

The two statues evidently form a pair, and they were probably attendant figures on some statue of Buddha, or the attendant figures at a temple. The figure, without the head, is 5 feet 4 inches high, and has a portion of a chauri sculptured on to the right shoulder, so that the function the figure performed is at once apparent, and the other, from its attitude being the same as this statue, doubtless also held a chauri. The lower half of the body is clothed with a loose garment tied round the loins overlapping in front, and hanging down on the ground behind, the feet and ankles being exposed in front. It is tied up by a coarse tasselled cord. A *du-paṭṭā* is worn over the left shoulder; there are heavy necklaces, one a cord of many strings of beads, and the other a flattened torque-like structure. The figure, with the head, measures 6 feet as restored, and shows indications of heavy earrings like those in the figures on the Bharhut Stūpa. The head is much disfigured, so that it is impossible to make out what character the head-dress had; but the hair seems to have been cut short all round, as in some of the Bharhut figures of men. The armlet, on the one arm of the headless figure, has the same trisular character so frequently met with in the Bharhut Stūpa among similar ornaments. In the other figure, the armlets are snake-like. The workmanship of these two statues has much the same character as those from Bharhut. They are made of a pale yellowish sandstone of great hardness, and which has taken on a considerable polish

The capital of Magadha during the time of Asoka¹, *i.e.*, in the third century before Christ, was Palibothra (Patna of the present day), and which, even in the days of Asoka's grandfather, Chandra Gupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks, was an important city according to Megasthenes. Mr. Beglar² says that when the Ramayana was written, the Son flowed along the lower course of the present Pūnpūn, the junction taking place at Sonbhadra, on the latter stream, "from which it followed the present course of the Pūnpūn and Murhar rivers to Chilibil, south of Phulwāri, where it turned first to the east as far as Panch-Pahāri and then to the south-east, finally joining the Ganges at Fatuha. The long tract of low ground in this direction is noticed by Buchanan. It is almost destitute of trees, and the cumulative waters of the Son, Pūnpūn, and Murhar still find their way down this old bed of the Ganges. This is the old channel to which Buchanan gives the name of *Mar-son*, the 'dead or deserted Son.' The courses of the Ganges and Son

¹ The meaning of Asoka is the "griefless," according to Dr. Mitra, who, in his "Indo-Ayrians," Vol. II, page 410, gives the following account of Asoka's mother:—"When Vindusāra was reigning at Pāṭaliputra, a Brahman of Chām-pūri presented him a daughter named Subhadrāngī. The damsel was extraordinarily beautiful, and a soothsayer having foretold that she would be the wife of a great king and mother of a universal monarch, the father made the present with a view to help the prophecy. The immediate fruit of this presentation did not, however, prove satisfactory to Subhadrāngī. Immured in the palace, she was, through the jealousy of the princesses of the zenana, doomed to menial service. Among other low occupations, she was ordered to acquire the art of a barber, whereby, she was told, she would gain the good-will of the king. When she was well proficient in the art she was ordered by the princesses to go and shave the king. She did so and acquitted herself so well that the king offered to grant her any boon she wished. She prayed for his society; but the king denounced her on account of her being of the low caste of a barber. She explained that she was only acting the part of a barber by order of the princesses of the palace, but that she was a Brāhmaṇi by birth, and had been presented to the king expressly with a view to his marrying her. The king, thus reminded of her history, granted her wish and made her the chief queen of the palace. Asoka was the first fruit of this union."

² Archaeological Reports, Vol. VIII, p. 9 *et seq.*

would thus have been nearly parallel for many miles, and on the narrow tract lying between the two rivers was situated the famous city of Pataliputra or Palibothra, the capital of the Gangetic Provinces¹." The site was on the right bank of the Ganges, but almost all traces of this ancient city have been swept away by the great river which now flows over where the city stood. Modern Patna, therefore, is not situated on the site of ancient Pataliputra, but in its immediate neighbourhood. The foregoing statues were probably the remains of some ancient temple of Palibothra.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by J. Tytler, Esq., 1821.

Sanchi.

The Sanchi stūpas are a series of Buddhist monuments situated between the towns of Bhilsa and Bhopal in Central India.

The great tope at Sanchi¹, from which these casts were taken, and which has been described in detail by Mr. Fergusson in his work entitled "Tree and Serpent Worship," was a monumental tower, stūpa, or chaitya, and did not, like some of the neighbouring stūpas, contain any relics, and was therefore not a dagoba. The stūpa was probably one of the 84,000 said to have been built by Asoka, and if so, the central mass of masonry and probably also its enclosing railing are about 2,000 years old. General Cunningham² and Mr. Fergusson agree that the gates are of more recent date, and they fix their age, limiting them to the first century after Christ, but all the gates are not of the same age, and Mr. Fergusson³ remarks that the south gateway, the oldest, "was being carved while Christ was preaching at Jerusalem."

¹ General Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. vi.

² "Bhilsa Topes," p. 250.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

According to the same author, "The great Tope at Sanchi consists, first, of a basement 121 feet in diameter and 14 feet in height. On the top of this is a terrace or procession path, 5 feet 6 inches wide, within which the dome or tumulus itself rises in the form of a truncated hemisphere to a height of 39 feet. This was originally coated with chunam to a thickness of about 4 inches, but whether ornamented with painting or moulded plaster ornaments cannot be ascertained, owing to the very fragmentary state in which the coating now exists. On the top of the dome was a level platform, measuring 34 feet across. This was surrounded by a circular railing of stones, some of the pillars of which are still found among the ruins. Within this was a square Tee or simulated relic box, consisting of sixteen square pillars with rails, and measuring 11 feet 6 inches each way. Within this again was a circular support for the umbrella, which invariably crowned these monuments." The basement was enclosed by a railing of stone, 11 feet in height, and removed from it to a distance of 9 feet 6 inches. This railing consisted of 100 pillars, arranged in a circle around the mass within, and had four great gateways. The pillars were connected with each other by three stone cross-bars placed one above the other, so that in general appearance the structure resembled a wooden railing, the tops of the pillars being connected by coping. The whole of this rail differed materially from that of Bharhut, as it was perfectly plain and unsculptured; but each pillar, and generally each cross-bar, was the present of some devout individual, and the gift was recorded by a short inscription, giving the name of the donor, as in the Bharhut railing.

S. 1 is a plaster cast of a panel in the upper portion of the right-hand pier of the northern gate-way of the great Sanchi tope. This bas-relief has been figured by Mr. Fergusson, Plate XXXVIII, fig. 1. He remarks of this panel that the *lagoba* represented on it is exceptional, as "It is very much

taller than any of the others, and is surrounded by three Rails. The upper one of these, possibly the two upper, are attached. They may be merely ornamental like those in the Topes in Afghanistan. The lower is certainly detached, and two figures are standing within it with offerings in their hands. This lower enclosure is entered by a gateway, apparently of wood, but evidently the prototype of the Sanchi portals. * * * The most interesting point with reference to this bas-relief is, that the people who are represented in the fore-ground are not the Hindus, who appear in all the other sculptures, but an entirely different race, and who are seen at Sanchi only in this bas-relief." These people will be considered when the sculpture from Mathura, occupying the centre of the next gallery, is described.

This and the succeeding nine casts were presented by the Secretary of State for India

S. 2 is another cast of a panel from the front face of the right-hand pier of the western gateway of the same tope as the preceding. It is figured on Plate xxxvi, fig. 2, of "Tree and Serpent Worship." The scene here represented has been supposed by Fergusson possibly to refer to a famous incident in the life of Prince Siddhattha known as the 'trial by the bow,' when he strung and bent a bow which nobody could string, and shot arrows to fabulous distances, one of which having alighted among some rocks gave rise to a spring of water which gushed forth and became a fountain for travellers. A man is represented in the middle distance, pulling with great energy a bow which is directed upwards, and the arrow of which, with its halbert-shaped point, appears to be directed at a male monkey above him, who is represented as having made a bridge over the stream by his own body, one hind leg being apparently tied to the left bank of the stream, while with his fore limbs he grasps the branches of a tree on the other side from that on

which the archer is. This monkey is being shot at by the archer, and below it stand two men with an outstretched cloth to catch it as it falls, and one of the men is looking upwards anxiously awaiting the result of the archer's trial of skill. In the tree to which the monkey has thrown its fore-quarters, there are two young monkeys, while the opposite bank is alive with these animals among the trees and rocks, and, on the same bank of the stream, two Indian antelopes are ruminating under a tree with huge blossoms like sun-flowers. Close beside the men holding the sheet is the foregoing tree, which is apparently a fig tree (*F. religiosa* or *F. bengalensis*) from the way the little round fruit springs in clusters from the branches. Seated under it, on a wooden platform, is a man, apparently an important personage, judging from his enormous head-dress and ornaments, who is sitting discussing some question with a monkey in front of him, also seated. The same person is evidently represented below this on horseback, preceded by a band of musicians, and one man carrying a short sword and another a bow. In the river, there are a variety of fish and reptiles, and among the former a shark can be made out, and among the latter a turtle and crocodile. Mr. Fergusson has apparently not observed the presence of the cloth as he describes the two men as the defeated rivals of Siddhattha. Its presence and the action of the two men holding it, do not support Mr. Fergusson's explanation of this bas-relief, the meaning of which still remains obscure. It is, however, identical with the kindred scene, already described, on one of the medallions of the Bharhut railing.

S. 3.—This cast is generally supposed to be the Sāma Jātaka¹. Sāma was the only child and son of the ascetics Dakhala and his sister Parika, who were both beautiful, and were married to each other after the custom of their family, although it was repugnant to them. They retired to the

¹ Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI, fig. 1, p. 151.

forest, where they practised all the discipline of rigid ascetics. Sekra, however, suggested to them, that they should have a son to assist them in drawing water, cutting wood and cooking food, but they resolutely rejected his advice. The dewa, however, told them that a son might be born to them by umbilical attrition, and acting on this advice a son was born, whom they called Sāma. The boy grew and proved most devoted and useful to his parents, both of whom became blind when he was 16 years of age. Sāma was the Bodhisat, and Spence Hardy¹ relates that—"It happened that as he went one day for water to the river, the king of Benares, Piliyaka, entered the forest to hunt, and as Sāma after ascending from the river was, as usual, surrounded by deer, the king let fly an arrow, which struck Sāma just as he was placing the vessel to his shoulder. Feeling that he was wounded, he called out, 'Who is it that has shot me?' and when he learnt that it was the king, he related his history to the monarch, and said that his greatest grief arose from the thought that his blind parents would now have no one to support them and would perish. But when the king perceived the intensity of his grief, he promised that he would resign his kingdom, and himself become the slave of his parents, rendering unto them all needful assistance in the stead of their son. Soon afterwards Sāma fell down senseless from the loss of blood;" but a Dewi, descending from the Dewa-loka, remained in the air near the king, without being visible, and entreated him to go to the Pansal and minister to the wants of the blind parents of Sāma. He was obedient and went. In the upper left-hand corner of this bas-relief, there is a group of five persons, the king with an attendant officer on his left hand, with a bearded ascetic on his right, who is accompanied by his wife, and also in all probability by his son, although Mr. Fergusson considers the latter figure to be

¹ "Eastern Monarchism," p. 275.

his daughter, doubtless from the striped garment being thrown over the left shoulder in the same way as by the woman behind. The king holds an object in his hand which has a strong resemblance to a purse, and it is, therefore, highly probable that this is the end of the story, the recovery of Sāma, and the recompense of his parents by the king.

To the right of these figures, the ordinary day-life of Dakhala and Parika is depicted, each sitting at the door of a hut with a fire-altar burning between the buildings, and a pair of tongs lying beneath it, and monkeys playing on the roofs of the huts. Under this scene, Sāma is standing by the side of the stream with his water-pot on his shoulder, talking to a figure similar to the attendant or official seen in the group above, while buffaloes are lying enjoying themselves in the water in which lilies are growing. Further to the left stands a fully equipped archer, apparently looking out for game, and still further to the left he is again represented as having discharged an arrow from his bow at the water, and in the water, at his feet, Sāma is seen struggling and extracting an arrow from his side, his water-pot lying on the bank. The boy had gone in to bathe and the hunter hearing a noise, and taking it for the movements of a wild beast, had shot Sāma instead. Behind, between this and the front group, sambar deer and antelope are represented, but no domestic cattle, as supposed by Dr. Mitra. Dakhala has a pointed beard, and, like the archers below, he wears a garment resembling a kilt, but it may be only a striped cloth, as a portion of it appears to be thrown over his left shoulder.

S. 4.—A cast of a panel in the left-hand pier of the southern gateway of the great tope at Sanchi.—The subject is a procession in which the principal figure is in a chariot drawn by two horses, the driver standing a little behind and on the right hand of the raja, behind whom is another servant. This

chariot and the trappings of the horses, and the way in which their tails are tied up to the traces, exactly agree with those in the Bharhut Stūpa. To the left of the chariot is an elephant mounted by two men, the principal figure being in a howdah, and carrying some object. The procession is preceded by armed men, one of whom carries a very large sword. From the similarity of this sculpture to those of the Bharhut Stūpa, it is probably of nearly the same age.

S. 5.—A half medallion from a pillar of the railing of the second tope at Sanchi¹. It exactly resembles similar figures on the Bharhut Stūpa.

S. 6.—The next cast is from a carved panel on the right-hand pier of the eastern entrance of the second tope at Sanchi. In the upper portion, there is half a floral medallion, and below this a woman is standing under an arched gateway on a Buddhist railing. Below this again is a larger semi-nude female figure, within a circle, standing on a lotus throne, with two small attendant figures on either side.

S. 7.—The following cast is a medallion from a pillar of the railing of the second tope at Sanchi. It represents a reclining monster with the fore-parts of an elephant and the hind parts of a fish, a lotus stem issuing from its mouth.

S. 8.—The next cast contains a figure mounted on an elephant emerging from the low much arched gateway of a small building with a pent tiled roof, the top of which is flat. It is from the second stūpa at Sanchi.

S. 9.—Another medallion from a pillar of the railing of the second tope at Sanchi. It represents a cobra with five heads. It is figured in "Tree and Serpent Worship," Pl. XLIII, fig. 2.

S. 10.—A medallion of a pillar of the railing of the second tope at Sanchi, representing the worship of the "chakra" or "wheel," "Dharma," the second member of the Buddhist

¹ This tope has been ascribed to the first century before Christ.

Triad. The wheel is represented as placed on an octagonal pillar resting on a four-stepped pedestal and enclosed by a Buddhist railing. On each side of the wheel there are attendant men with two women kneeling at their feet adoring "Dharma." The women, while having but little clothing, wear a profusion of heavy rings on their arms and legs, with rich waist-belts. The two male figures appear to be turning the wheel, exclaiming, like good Buddhists, "Turn, venerable and divine treasure of the wheel, with the Law, but not without the Law¹". This cast bears an inscription in Asok characters.

S. 12.—On a bracket, on the left side of the entrance to the next gallery, there is the figure of a woman standing under a sāl tree holding on to the branches with two hands, in the usual attitude of Māyā as represented in the Lumbini garden. This sculpture is 2 feet 2 inches high, and from the circumstance that it has a tenon above for fitting into another stone, and has an expanded flat base, it evidently served the purpose of a pillar, and on comparing it with the statuettes that appear on the outwardly projecting portions of the upper cross-bars of the gateway of the Sanchi tope as figured in the frontispiece of Mr. Fergusson's work on "Tree and Serpent Worship," it is seen to be identical with the figures of women there represented, indeed so much so that it might have formed part of that gateway, which it probably did. The figure itself is 1 foot 8.75 inches high. The pedestal is only 11 inches by 6 inches, while the top of the sculpture is 1 foot 8 inches by 6 inches, this much greater breadth being due to the branches reaching out over the figure beneath. It stands with the trunk of the tree on its right. The top of the head of the statuette, the greater part of the arms, and the right side of the left ankle are sculptured either into the foliage or into the trunk of the tree, while all the rest of the figure, except a small

¹ Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 137, Pl. XLIII, fig. 1.

connection by the right side, is perfectly free, and carved all round. The figure is quite nude, with the exception of a very flimsy garment, the margins of which appear below the knees and hips, otherwise it might be supposed that it was without any covering except the ornaments. The head-dress is peculiar, as it consists of a series of transverse folds bound by a jewelled fillet, from which the folds escape behind as long loops reaching as far as the loins, and below which the mass of hair appears to hang down to the hips, as two long and broad plaits. The toilet is completed by two large earrings, and by a long chain round the neck, hanging down between the breasts, where it is clasped together by a rosette; it then parts, on either side, downwards and outwards to reach the waist-chain to which it seems to be attached on each side by a rosette similar to that between the breasts, and to one on each shoulder. There are heavy ring-like bracelets on each arm and two huge metal rings above either ankle.

The history of this sculpture is unfortunately unknown.





INDO-SCYTHIAN GALLERY.

Mathura.

This Gallery contains sculptures from Mathura, a few from Sāvatti, two bas-reliefs from the Amravati Stūpa, a large series of beautiful, but small sculptures, bas reliefs, and statues from Gāndhāra, and some small fragments from Peshāwar, &c.

The ruins of Mathura are situated on the right bank of the Jumna, the *Jomanes* of Pliny, in the Agra district, 35 miles north-west of the city of Agra. General Cunningham remarks that "it is one of the most ancient places in India," and that it was "famous, in the history of Krishna, as the stronghold of his enemy, Raja Kansa; and it is noticed by Arrian, on the authority of Megasthenes, as the capital of the *Suraseni*. Now, Surasena was the grandfather of Krishna and from him Krishna and his descendants, who held Mathura after the death of Kansa, were called Surasenas. According to Arrian, the Suraseni possessed two great cities, *Methoras* and *Klisoboras*, and the navigable river *Jobares* flowed through their territories." Pliny also mentions that the Jumna passed between the towns of Methora and Klisobora, and Ptolemy that Mathura was a holy city¹: and the historians of Alexander appropriately assigned the name Suraseni to the kingdom of Mathura. In early times, about the beginning of the Christian era, Mathura seems to have been famous for its Buddhist and Jain establishments, although in later times it was a Brahmanical city.

¹ Ancient Geography of India, 1871, p. 373 *et seq.*

General Cunningham also mentions that Fa-Hian, who visited the city about 400 A.D., records that at that time there were 20 Buddhist monasteries and 3,000 monks, whereas when Hwen Thsang visited the city in 634 A.D., the monks in the monasteries had fallen off to 1,500.

General Cunningham, who is my authority for all that relates to Mathura, says that from the accounts given of it by these Chinese pilgrims, the monasteries must have been of considerable importance, a conclusion which he maintains is fully borne out by the discoveries he has made of Buddhist remains. He also observes that the information to be derived from the inscriptions that have been discovered at Mathura is of the greatest value for the ancient history of India, as they "afford the most unequivocal evidence of the flourishing state of the Jaina religion during the period of Indo-Scythian rule, both before and after the Chinese era."

Numerous mounds occur at Mathura, but four of them have been the chief sources of the sculptures that have been discovered, viz., the *Katrā*; the great mound at the south side of the *jail*; the *Kankālī tila*, about half a mile to the south of the *Katrā*; and the *Chaubāra* mound. $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the south-west of the *Katrā* mound.

The *Katrā* mound, General Cunningham states, was formed by the site of the *Yasa wihāra* or splendid Buddhist monastery, a building which is mentioned in an inscription on a statue of *Sākya Bhikshu* discovered by General Cunningham¹, and which bears the date 224 A.D. This building was apparently succeeded by a Hindu temple, which existed in the time of Tavernier, 1659 A.D., and which afterwards gave place to a *masjid* built by Aurungzib. General Cunningham's first discovery of Buddhist remains at Mathura was made in this mound.

The *Jail* mound would appear to have been the site of

¹ *Archæological Report*, Vol. I, p. 231, *et seq.*; Vol. III, p. 13, *et seq.*

two different monasteries, one called the *Huvishka* wihāra and the other the *Kunda-Suka* wihāra. The inscribed base of a column found in this mound, M 2d. of this catalogue, but yet to be described, has enabled General Cunningham to refer the age of the building of the *Huvishka* wihāra to the latter part of the century immediately preceding the Christian era. This mound has also yielded a great many sculptures, such as Buddhist railings, statues, bas-reliefs, relic stūpas, inscriptions, and the bases of other columns. The Jail mound was thoroughly excavated by the late Mr. Harding, Magistrate of Mathura, and some of the sculptures obtained by him are now in this Museum. The inscriptions have been reproduced by General Cunningham¹.

The Kankāli Tila mound, General Cunningham remarks, has been almost as prolific as the Jail mound, both in sculptures and inscriptions, the former all being pure Jain. The excavations have also yielded several colossal and life-sized statues, both male and female; broken but inscribed statues of the Jain hierarchs; pillars, rails, brick-walls, and pavements. The remains of Buddhist railings, disinterred from the mound, are full of interest. In the neighbourhood of this mound, General Cunningham found a large bell capital of a pillar surmounted by an elephant and inscribed with the name of Huvishka. It bears an inscription, dated 18 B.C.

In 1869, a road that was being constructed was carried through one of the Chaubāra mounds, and through a Buddhist relic chamber containing a small golden casket².

M. 1.—This sculpture was presented to Colonel Stacy by a friend at Mathura, but no record has been kept of the circumstances under which it was originally discovered. It came into the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, along with some

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 29 *et seq.*

² This casket is said to be in the possession of Mr. F. S. Growse, C.S.—
Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 16.

other objects deposited by Colonel Stacy¹, and appears to have become the property of the Society at his death. Another, and somewhat similar sculpture to this, was found at Mathura, in the cold weather of 1873-74, by Mr. F. S. Growse, c.s.², in a mound in the small village of Pāli-Kherā, near the ruins of the ancient city of Madhapuri, which have yielded numerous Buddhist antiquities.

The figures are cut in bold relief, and the hard red, yellow-spotted sandstone was probably obtained from the quarries of Rupbās and Sikri, 30 miles from Mathura, and which have supplied the "materials for the sculptors and architects of Upper India³."

The sculpture⁴ is 3 feet broad, by 3 feet 8 inches in height, and has a maximum thickness at the base of 15 inches. On the western face, four figures are represented, two men and two women, forming two pairs, the tallest figure, a man, being 2 feet 2·50 inches in height, a little taller than the others. In both pairs, the woman is on the left hand of the man. The man to the right, the largest figure, is represented with an unsteady gait, indeed reeling, but with his arm round the waist of the woman, holding her right arm with his other hand, thus, as it were, pulling her towards him, she, however, standing erect. The two other figures are quite independent of each other, and are looking straightforward, so that there is nothing in their attitudes calling for remark, except it be the way in which the woman holds a flower over her very prominent breasts. She wears a rather tight-fitting garment with short sleeves, and a short loose skirt falling from the waist to the thighs, but a loose and transparent garment is probably intended to be represented underneath it, reaching to the feet.

¹ Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. V, 1836, pp. 517, 567, Pl. XXXI.

² Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, 1875, p. 212, Pls. XII and XIII.

³ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 24.

⁴ See Mitra's Orissa, Vol. I, p. 68.

A long robe, thrown over the left shoulder of each woman, passes down the back and is drawn up in front of the right leg, being either held by the hand, or carried across the left arm. Both wear shoes. They have heavy earrings, and, in one, the ear is seen to be pierced by a ring in the upper part of the conch. The neck ornaments are four concentric rings, and the arm of one woman has elaborately ornamented bracelets from the wrist to near the elbow, and both have enormous ring anklets, as in the women in the Orissa friezes. Two of the faces have been completely destroyed, but that of the woman to the left partially remains, and also the left portion of the face of the larger man. From the latter it can be seen that he had his face unshaven, with whiskers, beard, and moustache. The most perfect heads are evidently girt with vine-leaves. The reeling man is nude, with the exception of tight-fitting drawers from the loins half-way down the thighs, but leaving his well-rounded paunch exposed. A garment resembling a Greek chlamys is thrown over his back, and tied in front of the neck. The other man, on the contrary, has a thin short-sleeved tight-fitting coat, with a plaited border reaching below the knees. Neither of the men have shoes. The hair of the women is divided down the middle, and brushed smooth, while the short hair of the men is represented much in the same manner as the hair of Buddha is carved in his statues, in little curls, but in these figures the curls are more open. Behind these figures, there is a tree with the leaves of the Asoka (*Saraca indica*), and with flowers which have a general resemblance to a well-formed cluster of the flowers of that tree, but Dr. Mitra considers it to resemble the *Kadam*, *Nauclea kadamba*. It is exactly the same tree that is figured at least twice in the Bharhut Stūpa. At the feet of the figures are some water or wine vessels.

On the opposite side, the central figure is that of a man

apparently inebriated, and supported by a man and a woman who are holding up his arms, a child assisting the former, and another holding on to his right knee. The figure is seated, but the seat is much injured and also the face of the statue. It is seen, however, to have been bearded and unshaven. He is represented as very obese and nearly nude. The woman, on his right hand, is dressed like the others on the opposite side, and the man has the chlamys fixed in front of the throat, but the details of these figures and of the children are too much effaced to be clearly made out. The top of this piece of sculpture is hollowed into a shallow basin, perfectly smooth, and originally nearly circular.

The manner in which the hair of the male figures is represented has not been mentioned either by Stacy, Prinsep, Cunningham, or Mitra.

Mr. Fergusson, in describing "the upper bas-relief on the inside of the right hand of the northern gateway" of the Sanchi tope¹,—in which certain figures occur which, according to him, have their hair represented curly, and are dressed as if they were the inhabitants of a cold country,—remarks: "They are all shaven, generally have their heads bare, and the hair bound by a small fillet. Their hair also is peculiar, being short and curly, like a negro's, or as that of Buddha is represented to be in more modern times. Their costume is a tunic with sleeves, fitting tightly to the neck, and reaching below the knees, being unlike the kilt and cloak of the Ascetics, or the dhotî of the Hindu, and their boots or sandals are also quite different from any seen elsewhere. Their musical instruments are also new to us. The Roman double pipe replaces the flute. The drum is differently formed, and the trumpets are of a kind seen nowhere else in the sculptures, but are also identical with those represented on the arch at Orange and else-

¹ "Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd Edn., Pl. XXVIII, fig. 1, p. 135.

where by the Romans as belonging to the Celts or their barbarian enemies whoever they were. Their banner alone, with its 'stars and stripes,' or rather stars and Union Jack¹ combined, is like what we shall afterwards meet, but this may be local and peculiar to Sanchi." Mr. Fergusson goes on to observe, "Who are the people here represented? Their costume would indicate the inhabitants of a northern or at least a colder climate. Their woolly hair points to a southern, unless it may be that some people with close curly hair did at this time inhabit Afghanistan or some of the countries near it. It has ever been one of the puzzles of Buddhism² that the founder of the religion should always have been represented in sculpture with woolly hair like that of a negro. . . . If we could tell who the people here represented are, it might solve the problem."

The men delineated on this sculpture from Sanchi evidently all belong to one party, and as they are all dressed the same, they, in all likelihood, were intended to represent one nationality. A careful study of the cast, and of the plate given by Mr. Fergusson, suggests the idea that the so-called fillet described by him as binding the hair is probably the border either of a quilted or of a fur cap resembling the curly black lamb-skin hats of Afghanistan, Yarkand, and other regions to the North-West, where the high-peaked cap also is not an uncommon form, so that the heads are all covered either with one or other of these kinds of hats. If, however,

¹ As already pointed out in the Bharhut Stūpa, a banner, resembling a Union Jack, occurs more than once.

² "These locks of mine are not suited for a mendicant. Now it is not right for any one else to cut the hair of a future Buddha, so I will cut them off myself with my sword." Then, taking his sword in his right hand, and holding the plaited tresses, together with the diadem on them, with his left, he cut them off. So his hair was thus reduced to 2 inches in length, and curling from the right, it lay close to his head. It remained that length as long as he lived, and the beard the same. There was no need at all to shave either hair or beard any more." Rhys Davids' *op. cit.*, p. 86.

the hair is thought to be visible, and is considered curly, the explanation given below of the curly hair of the Mathura male figures is more probable than any negro or other¹ hypothesis.

This Museum possesses a series of musical instruments from Nepal, with seemingly the same form of terminal dilatation as in the two represented in the Sanchi sculpture. The pipe is also an instrument which is found among the untutored peoples in the Himalayan region. The coat, and the boots, or what are more probably bandages around the legs, are also part of the dress of most Himalayan people. It is, therefore, probable that the people intended to be represented were from that region.

The way in which the hair of the men is represented in this Mathura sculpture has an entirely different explanation. In early European sculptures, the hair of men was generally represented in stiff formal little curls, identical with those of statues of Buddha, and in the British Museum there is a statue of Hercules² securing the stag that had frequented Mount Mænalus in Arcadia, in which the hair is sculptured in this manner; and another colossal head of Hercules in the same collection³, from the Pantanella in Hadrian's villa, exhibits much the same character of hair-sculpturing as these figures from Mathura. Many other instances of this style of art exist in European collections, but all they would seem to teach is that the sculptures were not true to nature, a criticism which Pliny has recorded of the works of Nipo, who, he

¹ Prof. Beal suggests that the hair in figures of Buddha is shown curling and turning to the right, in imitation of the *Swastika*, and possibly with reference to the sun's apparent movement from left to right, a view which might meet with the support of those, who, with M. Senart, regard the life of Gotama as a sun myth, with little or no historic basis.

² "Description of Ancient Marbles, British Museum," Part II (1815), Pl. VII.

³ *Op. cit.*, Part II (1815), Pl. VIII.

says, represented hair with no more adherence to nature than was observed in the rudest ages of sculpture, whereas he mentions that Pythagoras of Rhegium was the first sculptor who represented hair with the true exactness of nature. It is probable that the hair carving of the Mathura sculptures has a similar explanation. It may be also that the earliest figures of Buddha, having been executed during the *naissance* of the art of sculpture in India¹, had the hair represented as in the statue of Hercules, in small formal locks; and the hair of the Blessed One having once been carved in this depraved fashion, it was slavishly followed ever after, with a few exceptions, among which were the sculptors of Gāndhāra. As the art of sculpture seems to have been introduced into India by Greek influence, this way of representing the hair may have been the early Greek mannerism intensified and perpetuated by the artists of India, who have never risen in this section of art, beyond the most feeble mediocrity.

The *tout-ensemble* of the men and women in this Mathura sculpture does not sanction the supposition that the sculptor was representing men and women of different nationalities, simply because the short hair of the men is cut in stiff formal curls, while that of the women is represented divided down the middle and smooth; the difference in treatment is merely an art detail. The dress of the women and its details, and the way in which the drapery is treated, are characters that can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that the sculptors had been influenced by Greek art, probably much in the same way that English art is making itself felt in India at the present day.

¹ It seems hardly necessary to say that a curly-headed statue or figure is not necessarily a representation of a Buddha, but Mr. Growse (*Asiatic Society, Bengal, Journal*, Vol. XLIV, 1875, p. 215) has fallen into this mistake, because in speaking of a small rude figure that has probably no connection whatever with Buddha, remarks that "the head with its close curling hair leaves no doubt that Buddha is the person intended"

This sculpture and the other discovered by Mr. Growse are supposed by him to be the bases of pillars forming the entrance to a shrine, but the form of the cavity alone hardly favours this view, and the probability is that they are *tazza*, as suggested by General Cunningham. There can be no doubt the scene is bacchanalian, but who the chief actor is, Silenus or Balaram, is still an open question.

Surrounding the previous group are the bases of ten pillars, which were discovered at Mathura in 1860, close to the Jail mound. Thirty in all were found, and fifteen were inscribed with the names of the donors who presented the columns to the monastery. General Cunningham observes that, "as one of the gifts consisted of six pillars, a second of twenty-five, and a third of twenty-six pillars, there still remains forty columns to be discovered, which will bring up the total number to seventy¹".

The mound from which these pillar bases were excavated would appear to have been the site of two considerable monasteries, one the Huvishka wihāra, and the other the Kunda-Suka wihāra. The first of these names was deciphered by General Cunningham in the inscription surrounding the base of the column *M. 2d*; and the second was made out from a large flat slab. He identifies King Huvishka with Huvishka of the Arian Pali inscription of Wardak, near Ghazni, and with the Hushka of the *Rājatarangini*, and the Ooerke of the Indo-Scythian coins², and who reigned in Kashmir about the middle of the first century B.C. Dr. Mitra, in September of 1868³, gave an account and translation of the inscription on these pillars, and expressed some views regarding the rendering of the numerals, which were afterwards

¹ Archæological Reports, Vol. I, p. 239; *et* Vol. III, p. 13, Pls. I to XVI.

² Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, new series, p. 195.

³ Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 1870, p. 117, Pls IV to VII.

criticized by Prof. J. Dowson, and by General Cunningham. Dr. Mitra remarks that "The character, style, language, the princes named, and the circumstances detailed, all point to the first two centuries after the birth of Christ, and by reading the dates as belonging to the S'aka era, we bring the documents exactly to that epoch: the earliest 44 being equal to 120 A.D., and the latest 140, to 216 A.D." Prof. J. Dowson¹ has also translated these inscriptions, and he mentions that the language is Sanskrit, not Pali, and that "they are all Buddhistical and, like Buddhist inscriptions in general, they commemorate acts of pious devotion. Some of them contain the names of kings in whose reigns or to whose viharas, the gifts were made; and, what is of more importance, they give the dates in those old Indian numerals² which have been the subject of so much study and controversy. These numerals, although pretty accurately determined, cannot as yet be said to be decisively settled; but the examples which the present Inscriptions supply will afford much help to that desirable object." According to Prof. Dowson, the seasons of the year are used for the purposes of dates, and he observes that Dr. Mitra had "failed to perceive that the same custom is observed in these Inscriptions. So the following difficulty is encountered. The word *varsha* means both *year* and *rainy season*, but the applicability of the latter sense not having been seen, the Babû explains the sentence in which it occurs, and which begins with the distinct word *samvatsara* (year), by saying *varsha* is used very much in the same way as if a man were to say 'in the year 44 Anno Domini.'" With reference to Dr. Mitra's supposition that all the inscriptions probably belong to the S'aka era, Prof. Dowson says that the obscure

¹ Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, new series, p. 182.

² The values of most of the old Indian numerals have been settled by the researches of Mr. Thomas, and the late Dr. Daji, Bhanu, and others.—Dowson, *op. cit.*

letters, which Mitra reads as part of the word *Saka*, he has no doubt are parts of the donor's name on the pillar, and that, therefore, this supposition has no foundation in fact.

Two examples of the inscriptions will suffice as an illustration of their character, and of the difference between the translations of Dr. Mitra and Prof. Dowson.

Inscription on pillar *M. 2 d.*—Dr. Mitra's version: "At present, on the 40th day of the year 59, to the vihâra of the great king, the king of kings, the divinely born (or the son of a Deva), Huvishka, by the mendicant (Bhikshu) Jivaka Udiyanaka, known by the name of the breathsuspended. May it prove a blessing to all mankind! The fourteenth congregation."

Prof. Dowson's translation is as follows: "Year 47; summer season 4th (month); day 4th. Gift to the vihâra of the great king, king of kings, son of the Gods, HUVISHKA by the mendicant Jivaka of Udeyana. Base of column 25. May it be to the benefit, welfare, and happiness of all. At the fourteenth assembly."

The second example is the base *M. 2 J.*, the inscription of which is translated as follows by Dr. Mitra: "The gift of the mendicant (Bhikshu) Buddha-dâsa Sāṅghamitra, (or the friend of the congregation), (and) of the Devî Parosapachatris'a * * * *," which Prof. Dowson renders as follows: "Gift of the mendicant priest Buddha-dâsa to the Sangha-maitrasada vihâra. In the year 35 ? hundred. ? (?)"

The workmanship of the whole of these bases is very rude and crude. It will be observed that two of them, *M. 2 b* and *M. 2 i*, have curious symbols and other carvings upon them. Among the former is the swastika, occurring on both; and on *M. 2 b*, there is a lotah-like vase with a rod-like structure, having a barbed end, arching out from the mouth on either side. Other carvings appear to be letters of the alphabet.

All of these bases of pillars were found in preparing ground

for a new court-house at Mathura, on the site of an old masjid that had been blown down during the mutiny of 1857-58. They were presented to the Asiatic Society on the 3rd September, 1862¹, by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces.

All the following sculptures of the Mathura series, with the exception of *M. 10* and *12*, were discovered in the same locality as the foregoing:—

M. 3.—A fragment of one of the pillars of a Buddhist railing, 2 feet 3 inches long, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness.—On the front face, there are two recesses; in the uppermost is a seated draped figure, the head and shoulders surrounded by a halo. The head-dress is high, and the front has an ornament like a concave scalloped shell, with a rosette occupying its lower portion. In the ears, there are large earrings which pull down the lobes; a broad necklace hangs well down the chest, the figure having also massive armlets and bracelets. It is seated on a broad slab, but, below this, there appears to be a boldly indicated lotus throne, and under this, again, a Buddhist railing. Below this Buddhist railing, there is a portion of an arch out of which a figure is looking downwards to the next recess in which a woman is lying asleep on a *chārpāī*, with her right hand under her head; and, seated on the bed beside her, with his right foot resting on a stool, is her husband who seems to be fanning himself. The centre of the recess is occupied apparently by a wooden pillar, with a simple but peculiar capital. This would seem to be a rude representation of Prince Siddhattha rising from the side of his princess, Yasōdhara, to leave his palace and become an ascetic for the good of men. Below this scene, there is a Buddhist railing, and under this again, an arch with a human head looking out of it, and two half arches external to this arch. The

¹ Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 447.

left outer side of the slab is ornamented with a floral device, consisting of a long spray of leaves. On the other and opposite margin of this face, there is first an elongated pilaster ornamented with oblique bands of simple leaflets opposed to one another on stems, each band separated from its fellow by another consisting of little branches. External to this, there is still another ledge with a floral ornament.

On the narrow face of the sculpture, there are two recesses with erect male figures in relief, separated from each other by a Buddhist railing and by an arch. The upper figure has the left hand holding up its vestments, and the right hand in the attitude of blessing. The hair seems to be dressed after the fashion of the figures of Buddha, and the drapery is in the usual conventional form. The lower figure has the same kind of head-dress as in the figure on the other face of the stone, and is apparently similarly draped, but there is no necklace, and the right hand is upraised, holding a fruit of some kind. Under the figure, there is a Buddhist railing, and an arch below the railing. The art of this sculpture is rude, and very inferior to that of the Bharhut railings.

Presented by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 4.—The vertical half of a pillar of a Buddhist railing, measuring 3 feet 4 inches in height.—This pillar represents the figure of a woman in bold relief, measuring 2 feet 3 inches in height, standing on a dwarf with a large head, and crouching like a quadruped. She rests on her left leg, the right leg being crossed in front of it, and with her hands clasped behind her neck, the right arm being upraised. The hair is cut across the forehead, with a few short heavy locks arranged to the side. Her earrings are enormously large, and she wears a necklace, large armlets, no less than seven thick ring

bracelets, twelve rings on the lower part of the leg, a huge anklet, and a broad waist-belt consisting of a series of bead-like rows of ornaments fastened in front by an elaborate clasp. Over the figure, there is a deep niche as if for the reception of an oil lamp. This figure and three others in the Museum exactly resemble, in their nudity, and in the character of their ornaments, the figures of women which occur in such profusion in some of the sculptures of the Amravati Tope.

Presented by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 5.—An erect figure of Buddha in Mathura sandstone, but wanting the feet.—The statue is 6 feet in height, with a halo behind the head, 3 feet in diameter, beautifully carved with floral devices. The figure is in the usual attitude of teaching, the right arm being raised, but with the hand unfortunately broken off, while the left hand is holding up the garments. Like other statues of Buddha from Mathura, the thin garment falling over the figure is represented in fine parallel folds, a method very different from that generally pursued by the sculptors who made the Sarnath figures of Buddha, in which the dress is not generally indicated by any folds.

The halo is ornate, and consists of a series of concentric floral rings. First, there is a plain disk encircled by a finely crenulated line, outside which is a band of lotus petals, and, external to it, a *palmette* scroll surrounded by a broad floral ornament. The outer border has a richly carved rope-like band, with a beaded line outside it.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 6.—The pedestal of a colossal human figure with the feet from a little above the ankles remaining.—Each foot must have been about $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and nearly 7 inches

broad. External to each foot, there is the upper portion of a human figure, a woman to the left, and a man to the right, the latter figure being represented from the waist upwards. The hair is bound with a fillet, and is smooth and divided down the middle, cut evenly across the forehead and behind where it reaches near the shoulders and covers the back of the neck. The figure wears a cloak, like that of the supposed hill-people represented in the Sauchi Tope, and of the men in the Silenus group; but in this figure it is secured in front by a ring-like brooch. There is also a broad necklace. The female figure is represented from the breast upwards, and her garment appears to have exposed the whole of her arms from the shoulder downwards, and, in front of the shoulder, it is secured by a brooch so as to tighten it over the breasts. She wears a large necklace, a great torque, and huge triangular earrings. Her hair is divided down the centre, but thrown into wavy folds at the sides. Between the feet, standing under what appears to be an unopened lotus flower, are two figures, seemingly devotees, with upraised hands in the attitude of adoration. These figures have long garments reaching to near the ankles, as in one of the male figures in the Silenus group.

Presented by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 7.—A slab of Mathura stone, 4 feet 3 inches long by nearly 2 feet in depth, with figures in bas-relief. This sculpture represents Buddha seated in a rocky cave in the attitude of teaching, with a halo behind his head. On the rocks outside the cave, a peacock, a monkey, and two geckoes are represented, and beneath is a smaller and ruder cave within which lies a lion. To the left of the cave, in which Buddha is seated, stands a prince who has just alighted from a richly caparisoned elephant, and, by his side, his servant vigorously waves a chauri, brushing away the

flies from his master, who inclines in a devotional attitude towards the great teacher. The head-dress of the prince is upwardly expanded, and is unlike any of the head-dresses occurring on the Bharhut railing, except it be those of the merchants represented on the coping, whereas, the head-dress of the servant is not an uncommon form in the sculptures of the Amravati tope, and resembles the head-dress of the figure of Buddha delineated in the recess of sculpture *M. 3*. The dresses and ornaments of the prince and servant are alike, and almost exactly correspond to those of the two colossal statues from Patna. Both have massive earrings, and the servant differs only from his master in not having armlets below the shoulders. The elephant's trunk is decorated with a garland, and its ears with tassels. There is no howdah on the elephant, but only a simple cloth. To the right, there is the lower portion of a human figure standing and playing a harp of five strings.

Presented by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 8.—The base of a small figure of Buddha, but only the feet remaining and portions of two attendant kneeling figures.—The front of the base bears an inscription as follows, according to Dr. Mitra¹: "This virtuous dedication to Śākya Bhikshu (is by) Dharma-dāsa. Whatever fruits will proceed from this may be enjoyed by my father, mother, and all mankind," and which is thus rendered by Prof. Dowson²:—"Votive offering of the mendicant priest of Śākya Dharmadeva. May this pious act, &c., &c."

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 9.—The lower two-thirds of an erect figure of a woman, with the legs crossed, and with heavy anklets.—The figure is thinly draped from the waist downwards, and, on the right side,

¹ Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXIX, p. 129. Pl. v., fig. No. XI.

² Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, new series, p. 187.

a simple linked double chain, with a wheel-like disk attached. hangs down as far as the right thigh. The disk has a strong resemblance to the Buddhist Wheel of the Law, but it has four knob-like projections at regular intervals along its rim. The figure stands on a cornice, on the front of which a gecko is figured in relief, and some ornaments. This statue had been painted red, and still retains some of the colour.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 10.—There is some doubt regarding the exact locality from whence this sculpture was obtained, but as it is of yellow spotted, red sandstone and bears the general art characters of Mathura sculpture, it is placed tentatively along with them.

The figure has lost the head and its arms, with the exception of a portion of the hands, which, having rested on the thighs, are left attached to them. The figure is that of a woman seated on the back of an undoubted lion. The left leg is bent at the knee, and the left knee rests on the head of the lion, the left foot being drawn up almost under the body in front, thus resting on the lion's back. The foot, however, as in the majority of Buddhist figures, has not the sole upturned. The right limb is only partially bent, and the foot rests on the side of the lion. The body is clad as is shown by the margin of the cloth appearing above the ankles, and there is a heavy knobbed earring on the right side of the neck, and the neck itself is encircled by a bead necklace, the long strings of which hang down below the rotund breasts of the figure, and seem to have terminated in a large disk resembling a chakra or Wheel of the Law, as in the previous statue, and which partially overlaps the elaborate clasp of the five-stringed waist-belt or *kunchi*. Hanging loose on each ankle, there is an anklet of beads. The most interesting feature of this sculpture, however, is the child which is represented lying across the left thigh of the figure, resting on the left hand, the feet of the infant

hanging down against the hind part of the left leg of the statuette. All the portions of the child from the hips upwards have been lost.

M. 11.—This fragment¹, 22" × 13·50" × 11·50", has been described by Sir E. C. Bayley² as part of a sculptured drain-pipe afterwards converted into a stone ladder. Why it was regarded as part of a drain-pipe does not seem very evident. It rather appears to be the pedestal of a statue, as on one face are the remains of a seated Buddha in relief with two or more attendant figures, the two angles of the stone on this face being carved pillars. The opposite face of the stone had originally been carved and had borne an inscription, but some ruthless hand had converted this face into a stone ladder, leaving only fragments of the inscription. What further supports this view of the nature of the fragment is that both ends also appear to have been sculptured. What remains of the inscription has been translated by Dr. Mitra³ thus :—" In the tenth year: the gift of the mendicant Buddha-dása, to Buddha for the good of all mankind and "

Presented by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 12.—The pedestal of a statue in red speckled sandstone, with an inscription in four lines; the feet of the statue alone remaining, size 17" × 13" × 4".

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 22nd December 1882.

M. 13.—An erect Buddha, 4 feet 9 inches high, but without the glory, which has been broken off.—It is represented in the usual attitude of teaching, and, on either side of the feet, there are the remains of a small kneeling figure in the act of worship. There is no inscription.

¹ Mitra, *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, Pt. I., Vol. XXXIX, p. 129, Pl. VI, fig. 14.

² *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. I, p. 121.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

Presented by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 3rd September 1862.

The Chaubāra mound yielded one of the most interesting discoveries that has been made at Mathura, *viz.*, the full-sized capital now to be described¹.

M. 14.—It is placed immediately to the east of the western window of this gallery. It is of red, yellow-spotted sandstone, and consists of four animals, all with human heads; but with the hair curved round the ear like a horn. A pair has the hoofs and tails of cattle, and the others the tails and clawed feet of lions. They are represented with wings rising from their backs, on which there is a square dado for the support probably of a toran beam, as the capital was in all likelihood part of the pillar of a gateway. It measures 3' × 1' 9" × 1' 7".

Presented by the Archaeological Survey of India, 8th December 1879.

The visitor should now proceed to the eastern side of the gallery, where three pillars of a Buddhist railing from Mathura have been erected in a line, in the hope that the cross-bars and coping may be added at some future time. They have been slightly raised above the level of the floor of the gallery, in order that they may be seen to advantage; but, when they were in their original position, the bases were probably at the level of the soil on which they stood, or of that of the platform of the tope which they surrounded.

M. 15a.—This pillar of a Mathura Buddhist railing was originally placed by Colonel Stacy² in the Asiatic Society's Museum on deposit, but became the property of the Society after his death³.—The height of the pillar is 4 feet 2 inches;

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, P. 18, pl. III.

² See Kittoe: *Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal*, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, 1847, p. 335.

³ General Cunningham, in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III, p. 20, pl. VII, is mistaken in saying this pillar was presented by the late Mr. Harding.

its thickness, not including the figure of the woman in relief, is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and its breadth $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Each side is marked by three acutely oval holes for the reception of the cross-bars which must have been about 10 inches deep and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. On one face of the pillar there is the figure of a woman 2 feet 5 inches high, standing on the back of a dwarf resting on his knees and elbows. In her right hand, she holds a small wicker cage, the bird from which is perched on her left shoulder, her left hand resting on her loin girdle. The face is good, but the breadth of the hips is out of proportion to the rest of the figure, and the lower half of the legs is feeble. As in Indian statues generally, the breasts are enormously developed. Her hair is in wavy lines, and the left side appears to be decorated with a bunch of drooping flowers. She has large earrings and a broad torque-like necklace, and her arms are covered with ring-like bracelets nearly to the elbows, and on her right arm there is an armlet below the shoulder. Her waist-belt consists of imbricate disks, probably coins, and it is secured in front by an elaborate clasp. Around each ankle there is a pair of rings, and, below, there is a fold which passes from one foot to another, and seems to be continuous with a folded cloth which hangs from her left side, and which is seemingly tucked into her waist-belt. The sculptor's idea in these statues is evidently this, that they are to be considered clothed, while yet nude, which is verified by the border of the imaginary covering being seen below the anklets. Above this figure, General Cunningham¹ says: "A love scene" is represented "with half-length figures of a man and a woman behind a balcony formed of a Buddhist railing," but it would appear that the scene on the pillar is in reality a lady performing her toilet with the assistance of her maid, who holds a cushion on which her mistress rests her left elbow to steady the mirror

¹ Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. III, p. 20.

which she holds in her left hand, and by the aid of which she paints her face with her right hand. Cushions similar to this are represented in the Amravati sculptures. Unfortunately, the greater portion of the mirror is broken away, but it is represented as having a large handle, and the back is somewhat richly ornamented.

Three scenes are represented on the other face of the stone, each occupying a panel. General Cunningham says that they form one story, "a new version of the well-known legend of the attempt to destroy Buddha by a "must" or mad elephant. In the uppermost compartment, the tempter, with joined hands, is soliciting Buddha to go forth to what he hopes and believes will be his certain destruction. In the middle compartment, Buddha is seen meeting the elephant, which kneels down to do homage to the great teacher, to the evident surprise of the tempter and of several spectators in the buildings above them." The expression, however, on their faces is more that of amusement than surprise, and the sculptor, considering their small size, has condensed a wonderful degree of expression into them. They probably first attributed the kneeling of the elephant to madness, and thought it a capital joke; but the astonishment must have been great when the next scene occurred, represented in the lowest compartment, and in which the tempter is shown, seized and being killed by the elephant. The figures, looking on in the second scene, are represented peering over a wall, while two heads above this look out of arched windows over a Buddhist railing. On the sides of the compartments in which these scenes are sculptured, a pillar, with a bell-shaped capital of the Asoka type; occurs in each. Buddha in this pillar is represented with the usual form of hair-dressing, but the figure is very thickly clad, with an under-coat reaching half-way below the knees and overlapping in front, while, over this, another coat is worn, also crossed in front. and marked by small squares, as if it were quilted.

M. 15b.—Another pillar of a Buddhist railing (Pl. VI, fig. B¹.) with the figure of a woman of the same size as the preceding, and standing on the back of a dwarf on all fours, with deeply sunken eyes. The expression of the face is rather pleasing, as a smile plays over it. In the balcony above, a woman has her right arm round the neck of a man with short curly locks, and a nosegay in his right hand.

The other side of this pillar consists of three distinct sunken panels, the two uppermost, each containing a scene, while the lowermost one seems to combine two scenes. Beginning from below, there are the hands and shoulders of two gigantic ogres, each with protruded tongue, apparently licking out the heart's blood of two human beings lying stretched before them, while the upper part of this panel is occupied with two mothers, each playing with a child on her knee. Above this is the representation of a gateway to a house. The central panel contains a figure of an aerial horse with two children hanging on to its back, and one to the right foreleg and another to the right hindleg. In the uppermost panel, there is a round brick or stone tower in which there are four persons very like the preceding children; and, outside it, a man has climbed into a tree and is apparently trying to scale the tower, and is being resisted by the occupants.

This and the following pillar were found by General Cunningham in 1872 "in a small dharmasāla near the Balbhadra tank, a short distance to the north of the Kankālī mound, and close by the Buteswar mound, in which it is believed that they were discovered²."

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 31st July 1882.

M. 15c.—Another figure, the counterpart of *M. 14a*,

¹ Archæological Reports, Vol. III., 1873

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

(Pl. vi, fig. D 1.) but holding a bunch of fruit in her left hand, her right hand resting on her kanchi or waist girdle. In the upper part of the pillar, a man and a woman, the former holding a cup, appear behind a Buddhist railing, the man resting his left hand on the woman's shoulder. The other face of the pillar has three panels, and the scenes they represent probably all refer to one story. The uppermost consists of a Raja seated on a large chair or throne, with one leg drawn up, and the other resting on a footstool, a servant waving a *chauri*, standing in front of him, and another man behind him. The Raja is holding up one hand as if addressing some persons. The throne resembles that on which the King, Makhā Deva, is seated in the Jātaka, on the Bharhut coping, and Raja Suddhoddana in the Amravati bas-relief. Below, there are two Buddhist railings separated from one another by three arched recesses, the central one occupied by the bust of a woman. In the central panel, the same Raja is seated in his garden in nearly the same attitude as in the previous scene; but by his side stands his servant now holding what appears to be a banghi load. In the lowermost scene, which is much effaced by the decay of the stone, he is represented as standing, grasping the arm of the banghi man.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 31st July 1882.

M. 16.—Half a slab of sandstone having the entire impression of a gigantic human foot and portion of another foot-print of Buddha.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, on the 3rd September 1862.

M. 17.—A figure of Hercules, in alto-relievo, 2 feet 5 inches high, strangling the Memæan lion. The latter is represented standing erect on its hind feet, but grasped round the neck by the left arm of Hercules, who is pressing the neck

¹ Archæological Reports, Vol. III.

against his shoulder. The right arm of the statuette is broken off, but as the axilla is exposed, the arm had been represented raised and bent on itself at the elbow, so that the hand had been brought down close to the shoulder, but hidden in the foliage behind the figure, the tree being the same as occurs in the Silenus group. The greater portion of the knotted club is seen behind the right side of the figure. The action, therefore, is not only that of strangling, but clubbing the lion as well. The head of Hercules has been lost, and the front part also of the head of the lion. He is represented as having worn the skin of an animal over his back, as the front limbs are tied before his chest in a loop knot, the free ends being the paws. The beard of the lion is indicated by parallel pendants, and, on the full rounded left cheek, there is a somewhat stellate figure with wavy arms, probably a rude Swastika. The fore limbs of the lion are raised to the front of its neck, grasping the left hand of Hercules, but they are very feebly executed. The general art characters of the figure are essentially Grecian, but in the attitude in which Hercules is placed towards the lion, and the consequent position of his right arm, it would be extremely difficult to deal any but the most feeble blow. Although there is considerable anatomical accuracy in delineating the position of the various muscles brought into play in Hercules, the lion is devoid of action, and badly shaped.

General Cunningham informs me that the group was found by him, last March (1882), at Mathura, being used as the side of a trough for watering cattle. He is of opinion that it is a copy of some Greek original, and considers it a curious and interesting specimen, which undoubtedly it is, as it shows that there must have been a colony of Greeks, or semi-Greek Indo-Scythians at Mathura who worshipped Hercules. He is inclined to refer it to about 100 to 150 A.D., during the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 20th October 1882.

The visitor will now turn to the south window of the Gallery, in front of which stands a colossal statue with a slab in front of it containing the impression of two human feet.¹

Sāvatti.

The ruins of the ancient city of Sāvatti¹, also known as Sahet-Māhet, occur on the bank of the Rapti river, and lie nearly equally distant between Bahraich and Gonda, and are 5 miles distant from Akaona and 12 miles from Balrāmpur². They claim a great antiquity, as the city is said to have been founded by one of the Solar race of kings, and to have existed long before the days of Rāma. The chief interest attached to it would appear to be that Buddha spent a good many years of his life in it, and that it was the scene of many well-known incidents in his career. During his time, it was the capital of one of his faithful followers, Raja Prasenajita, whose visit to Buddha is depicted in the Bharhut railing; and whose cruel son Virudhaka, out of hatred to the Sākya race, caused the massacre of 500 of their maidens who had refused to enter his harem. Buddha, on hearing of this horrible deed, predicted that the monster Virudhaka would be destroyed by fire in seven days, a fate which overtook him on the day foretold, when, accompanied by his women, he was boating on a tank close to the scene of the massacre. It is related that a fire burst forth from the waters of the tank and destroyed the boat, that the earth below the tank opened, and that Virudhaka fell alive into hell. A somewhat similar fate to this overtook a Brahmini girl of Sāvatti, named Chinchī, who, having expressed some doubts regarding the continence of Buddha was engulfed alive by the earth which opened to

¹ Cunningham, Archæological Reports, Vol. I, p. 330.

² Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 407.

destroy her. The places at Sāvatti, where these various incidents in the life of Buddha occurred, were invariably indicated by the erection of a monastery, stūpa, or some other building; but all of these structures are now reduced to little more than mere mounds covered by almost impenetrable jungle. The most important of them was the great monastery of Jetavana, one of the most celebrated Buddhist buildings in India, and erected during the life of Gotama by Anātha Piṇḍika, the prime minister of king Prasenajita¹. The story of the erection of this building has already been narrated under the description of the Bharhut railing. The great mound, supposed to mark the site of this building, has been excavated by General Cunningham², but he found nothing but earth and broken bricks. In a mound, however, close by, he discovered the four walls of a temple, against the back wall of which leant the colossal figure of Buddha, No. *Si. B.* of this gallery. The pedestal was undisturbed from its original position, and, immediately in front of it, the following flat slab was found.

Si. A.—The impressions of two human feet, each 20 inches long, are represented on this slab, which is 3 feet 9 inches broad. On each side of the feet, two small sunken panels occur as mentioned by General Cunningham, who, however, does not describe their characters. Each, however, can be seen to be a recess in which a human figure is sculptured. The one on the right of the feet, towards the heel, represents a standing figure, evidently Buddha, and thickly clothed as in the elephant scene on the pillar from Mathura, with an object before it which might be taken to represent the head of a kneeling elephant. The figure in the recess in front of this is simply a standing Buddha similarly attired. Before this, there is the remainder of what may have been a third recess. To the left, and towards the heel is a seated

¹ Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I, p. 335; *et* Vol. XI, p. 79.

² Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I, p. 339.

Buddha, and anterior to it a recess containing a female figure, probably Māyā, the mother of Buddha, standing under the sāl tree, *Shorea robusta*; and, before it, there appears to be a fragment of a third recess, but the slab is imperfect. Behind the impression of the feet, the stone has been ornamented by what was probably a frieze of figures in relief, but it is so much weathered that it is impossible to determine what this may have been.

Si. B.—This colossal standing figure, 11 feet 8 inches high, represents Buddha in the attitude of teaching. The head, the halo, and the right arm are almost entirely gone, and the left hand, which has evidently rested on the side, is wanting. General Cunningham remarks on this figure that, "the right shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures;" but although this is the case in this statue, the right shoulder in many of the statues of Buddha in the Museum is covered, the body being generally represented clad in a long vestment. In this statue, the lower portion is draped in a loose garment reaching half-way below the knees, and, from the waist upwards, the left shoulder and one-half of the chest are covered by a thin drapery, whilst a heavy fold hangs from near the front of the left hand downwards to the right knee, and then upwards and backwards again to the left hand. The feet are widely apart, and the statue, as a whole, does not manifest any sculptural skill. It is cut out of Mathura sandstone, and bears an inscription on the front of the pedestal, but it is to be regretted that the most important part, *viz.*, that containing the date, is imperfect. General Cunningham says that "It opens with the figure 10 and some unit of the Gupta numerals, which must be the day of the month, and then follow the words *elāye purvvaṇṇe*, which Prof Dowson thinks must mean 'on this notable occasion,' or some equivalent expression. Then come the names of the donors of the statue, three mendicant monks, named *Puṣṭha*, *Siddhya-*

Mihira, and *Bala-Treptaka*; next follow the title of *Bodhisatwa*, the name of the place, *Srāvasti*, and the name of Buddha as *Bhagavata*. The inscription closes with the statement that the statue is the 'accepted gift of the *Sarvasiddhina*, teachers of the Kosamba hall.' Judging from the old shapes of some of the letters in the record, the age of the statue may be fixed with some certainty as not later than the first century of the Christian era. The characters are usually the same as those of the Mathura inscriptions, which, without doubt, belong to the very beginning of the Christian era, and as the *Srāvasti* statue was in all probability executed at Mathura, the correspondence of the lapidary characters shows that the inscription must belong to the same period¹. General Cunningham is disposed to conclude that this statue must have been situated in one of the seven-storied pavilions which were destroyed by fire in A.D. 400, before Fa Hian's visit, as this Chinese pilgrim makes no mention of such a statue.

This figure and the slab discovered along with it were presented by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Elgin to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 4th March, 1863.

The visitor should now examine two sculptural fragments from the famous Buddhist ruins at Amravati, and which are let into the northern section of the eastern wall of this gallery.

Amravati.

The Buddhist tope of Amravati, also called Dipaldinna or "Hill of Lights" by Colonel Mackenzie, is situated on the south or right bank of the Kistna river, about 60 miles from its mouth.

Mr. Fergusson considers that the erection of this tope extended over two or three centuries, or, say, from 200 to 500 A. D.

¹ Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I, p. 339.

The material of which the railing is composed is a hard crystalline faintly bluish limestone from the Kadapa formation of rocks.

4. 1.—This bas-relief consists of three distinct compartments separated from one another by a representation of the end of an ornamental wall. It has been figured by M. Foucaux¹ and by Mr. Fergusson².

In the compartment to the left, the father of Buddha, Siddhodana, is represented seated on his throne, with a halo behind his head, and an attendant on each side of the throne with a *chauri*, the other surrounding figures being probably his courtiers; and, as Mr. Fergusson points out, this relief differs from the generality in having no women included in the scene. In the central division, Buddha is depicted as having descended from the heaven Tusita, in the form of a white elephant, and is being carried in a pavilion by celestial dwarfs, amid great rejoicings. A banner and an umbrella are borne in front of the ark, and human figures are represented dancing and playing musical instruments around it.

In the compartment to the right, the mother of Buddha, Māyā, is seen lying on her couch, as in the Bharhut railing, surrounded by her waiting-maids, one group of whom is represented standing by her couch, whilst another is seated on the floor in front, while at each corner of her bed is a male guardian, one of whom has a drawn sword. She is dreaming of her immaculate conception, when Buddha, in the shape of a white elephant, appeared to her and entered into her womb. The elephant is represented on the upper ornamental margin of the compartment.

This bas-relief was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Colonel C. Mackenzie, but, unfortunately, neither

¹ "L'Histoire du Bouddha Çakya-Muni," 1847, Pls. III to VI.

² "Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd Ed., Pl. LXXIV.

the circumstances nor the date of the presentation have been recorded, as far as I have been able to ascertain from the records of the Asiatic Society.

A. 2.—A pillar, Plate xcvi¹, of the inner rail of the tope that bounded the procession path on the side next the centre. This rail was very much smaller than the great outer railing which resembled that of the Bharhut Stūpa in dimensions, but was very much more elaborately carved. In the upper portion there is the Buddhist Wheel of the Law, surmounted by three celestial dwarfs, the chakra itself resting on an elaborately and grotesquely carved pillar, the capital of which, like many other Buddhist pillars, consists of lions. On each of the two sides of the capital springs a lotus flower, standing on which is a female figure so arranged as to appear to be assisting in supporting the chakra by an elbow and hand. Immediately below these figures, and contributing to the support of the lotus, is a man mounted on a prancing animal which appears to represent a lion, and the hind limbs of which rest on a kind of bracket springing from the side of the pillar. There is a further succession of four somewhat similar figures placed over each other, on each side of the pillar, but the animals of the lowest ten have horses' bodies with the heads of lions. On each side of the base of the pillar stands a human figure with a seated figure in front of it, in the attitude of adoration. The base is much injured, but it appears to have consisted of a device representing a relic casket having the outlines of a chaitya, and, below, there are indications of the foot-prints of Buddha. The shaft of the pillar is made up of a succession of segments resembling individual capitals of varied form and design.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Colonel Mackenzie in 1817.

¹ "Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd Ed.

net round her head; her ears being decorated with many leaf-like ornaments.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 9.—An elaborate alto-relievo consisting of four distinct scenes, the lowermost forming a panel with the figures cut into it and bordered above by an architrave, thoroughly Grecian in its character, over which is the second scene, somewhat broader than the one below it, and partially arched in on the side, the interval between the two portions of the arch being filled in, as it were, by the base of the third and much smaller scene, and consisting of alternate little squares and square recesses. This third scene is also arched over, and within the upper segment of a secondary arch, enclosed in the principal arch, is the last and fourth scene.

The carving of the first scene is very fine, and its execution excellent. The incident represented is the visit of Buddha to the Hindu ascetic and fire-worshipper Uruvela Kassapa, who resided with his three brothers in the forest of Uruvela, and for whose conversion Buddha performed three thousand five hundred miracles. On becoming disciples, they received the command "Follow me," and on an occasion shortly after this event, the elder Uruvela Kassapa made the public declaration—"The Blessed Lord is my master, and I am the disciple." Uruvela Kassapa, in the sculpture, is seated, almost nude, at the door of his hut with a little fire altar burning in front of him. He sits on a spiral stool, probably intended to represent a snake, and his long hair is done up in cross spirals, a fashion still prevalent among Hindu religious mendicants, while, as among them, his beard is long and untrimmed. Before him stands the Great Teacher with uplifted hands, probably saying *vana* for his conversion.

The second scene is Buddha seated under the Bodhi tree, and the incident intended to be represented is doubtless the worship of the angels after he had repulsed the onslaughts of

Satan (Māra), and had attained Buddhahood. Two worshippers kneel before him.

The third and fourth scenes also appear to represent the same legend, and the latter to be specially devoted to the honour paid to Buddha by the Nāgas, as the kneeling figures end in snake-like coils.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 10.—In this sculpture (13·50" × 7·75") is represented Devadatta's nefarious attempt to destroy Buddha by clubmen—hired assassins. The scene is divided into two compartments by a vertical partition or wall. To the right of it, Buddha, attended by Devadatta, is represented approaching the end of the wall, on the other side of which the clubmen have been lying in wait; but they seem to have already felt the influence of his benign presence, as one of them has raised his hands in the attitude of adoration, while two others appear as if they had been struck with blindness, one groping against the wall, holding the hand of his accomplice behind him. Some other figures, probably devas, occur in the background anxiously watching the course of events. The pose and treatment of the nude bodies of the would-be murderers partake essentially of the characters of Greek art, and it is noteworthy that one of them, a moustachioed figure, has the hair of his head sculptured in small locks, in the way that the hair of Buddha is generally represented.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 11.—A slab (24·50" × 19"), divided by a transverse architrave of a lozenge pattern into two scenes, the lowermost tolerably perfect, but the one above it much effaced. Below the former, there are four heads belonging to another imperfect scene. The lowermost of the two scenes consists of the Teacher seated on a dais, under a tree, surrounded by thirteen other persons. On his right hand, a man is seated on a low stool, and is resting his elbows on his knees and bending his

Gāndhāra.

The following series of sculptures are contained in the cases along the walls of this Gallery and they commence on the right of the exit from the Asoka Gallery. With the exception of a few sculptural fragments, they are all from the region of Yuzufzai in the Punjab, inhabited by that clan of Afghans known as Yuzufzai¹. This area lies between the two rivers the Suwat and the Indus, the former being a branch of the Kabul river which defines the southern boundary of the country, so that the district is north-east of Peshāwar. Its ancient name is Gāndhāra. It consists of two parts, a mountainous area to the north, and a comparatively open fertile plain to the south, the latter being in British territory, and the only portion of the country that has yet been visited by Europeans. Buddhist ruins abound in British Yuzufzai, and similar antiquities have been ascertained to exist in the independent portion of the country to the north in which there are some fine valleys. The principal localities in Yuzufzai that have yielded the antiquities in this Gallery are Sabri-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, Kharkai, and Jamāl-garhi; but by far the greater number have been obtained from the ruins of a great religious establishment that once occupied the hill above Jamāl-garhi². The ruins generally consist of remains of stūpas with surrounding shrines containing statues, and adjoining Wihāras or monasteries.

The most complete account of the Buddhist remains of Yuzufzai has been given by Dr. Bellew³, who was resident for some years at Hoti-Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yuzufzai tahsīl, 33 miles north-west of Peshāwar.

¹ Literally "Sons of Joseph."

² Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, Vol. V, pp. 1-55, *et* p. 197. See also Sir E. C. Bayley, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. XXI, p. 606 *et seq.*

³ "Report on the Yuzufzais," 1864.

In 1872-73, the ruins were examined by General Cunningham and explorations were conducted by him and also by a company of sappers under his direction, and the results of their researches are detailed in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey¹.

General Cunningham considers that the sculptures "belong to the most flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule under Kanishka and his immediate successors, or from 40 B.C. to about 200 A.D.²"

All of these sculptures are distinguished by the unmistakable influence of Greek art, and the capitals of pillars are so thoroughly imbued with it that General Cunningham appropriately designates them Indo-Corinthian. Many of these sculptures, when found, are said to have borne indications that they had been covered wholly or partially with gold leaf.

Case No. 1.

G. I.—A fragment, in two pieces (16·50 inches by 13 inches). This scene represents the birth of Gotama Buddha under the sāl tree, in the Lumbini garden. Spence Hardy³ has given the following description of this event from Singhalese manuscripts:—

"At the conclusion of the ten months Mahamāya informed the king (Suddhodana, her husband) that she wished to pay a visit to her parents; upon hearing which he commanded that the whole of the road between Kapilawastu and Kōli should be made level, strewed with clean sand, and have trees planted on each side, with water-vessels at regular intervals. A litter of gold was brought, in which soft cushions were put, and it was carried by a thousand nobles in the richest dresses. The queen bathed in pure water, and put on robes of inestimable value, with all kinds of

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. v. ² *Op. cit.*, p. vi. ³ "Manual of Buddhism," p. 147.

ornaments adorning her person, so that she appeared like a being from the *déwa-lkóa*. When she entered the litter, and her journey commenced, she was accompanied by thousands of elephants, chariots like a cloud, banners, and music. Between the two cities there was a garden of sal trees, called Lumbini, to which the inhabitants of both cities were accustomed to resort for recreation..... As she felt disposed to remain a little time in the garden, and enjoy the sight of its beauties, it was prepared in a proper manner for her reception. Attended by thousands of her maids, she entered, and, passing on, admired the different objects that she saw, until she came to a sal tree, when she put forth her hand to lay hold of one of its branches; but it bent towards her of its own accord, and as she held it, the birth of the *Bódhisat* (the future Buddha) commenced. The nobles then placed a curtain around her, and retired to a little distance. This being done, the *déwas* of the 10,000 *sakwalas* came to the same place as a guard. Without any pain whatever, and entirely free from all that is unclean, *Bódhisat* was born. The face of the queen was turned towards the east, and the child was received by *Maha Brahma* in a golden net¹, who on presenting him to his mother, said, 'Rejoice, for the son you have brought forth will be the support of the world!' Though the infant was perfectly free from every impurity, yet to render him and his mother still further clean, two streams of water were sent by the *déwas*, like pillars of silver, which, after performing that which was required, immediately disappeared. The guardian *déwas* of the four quarters received the child from the hands of *Maha Brahma* on the skin of a spotted tiger, extremely precious; and from the *déwas* he was received by the nobles, who wrapped him in

¹ "The Mahomedans have a tradition that Abraham was received at his birth by the angel Gabriel, who immediately wrapped him in a white robe."
—*Spence Hardy*.

folds of the finest and softest cloth ; but at once Bódhisat descended from their hands to the ground, and on the spot at first touched by his feet arose a lotus. He then looked towards the east, and in an instant beheld the whole of the limitless sakwalas in that direction ; and all the dévas and men in the same direction, presenting flowers and other offerings, exclaimed, ' Thou art the greatest of beings ; there is here no one like thee ; no one greater than thee ; thou art supreme ! ' Thus he looked towards the four points, and the four half-points, as well as above and below.....When Bódhisat looked towards the north, he proceeded seven steps in that direction, a lotus rising up at every step ; after which he exclaimed, ' I am the most exalted in the world ; I am chief in the world ; I am the most excellent in the world ; hereafter there is to me no other birth ! '.....The queen did not proceed to Kóli, but returned to Kapilawastu, attended by 160,000 princes of both cities."

The erect position assigned to the mother of Gotama is in accordance with the distinctive quality of the mother of a Buddha elect, who always gives birth to the Bodhisat standing, and after she has cherished him in her womb for exactly ten months¹. The future Buddha, moreover, leaves his mother's womb "like a preacher descending from a pulpit or a man from a ladder, erect, stretching out his hands and feet, unsoiled by any impurities from contact with his mother's womb, pure and fair, and shining like a gem placed on fine muslin of Benares²."

Only the birth scene is here depicted, and it appears to have been as great a favourite with Buddhist sculptors as the nativity of Christ was with Christian artists of mediæval Europe. The grouping and pose of the figures, their anatomical accuracy, and the manner in which the drapery is handled, are Grecian, not Indian, in their details. This scene also

¹ Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² *Ibid*, p. 66.

occurs among the sculptures discovered by General Cunningham at Sārnāth many years ago, but their art characters are essentially Indian.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 2.—A fragment measuring 16·50 inches by 13·50 inches. In this sculpture the birth of the Bodhisat is again represented. The scene is arched in above, and, over this arch, he is represented as Buddha seated in the attitude of teaching, with adoring male disciples on either side of him. This differs in its details somewhat from the previous scene, as two female attendants are present. While one supports Māyā, another by the side of the former carries a small kettle-like vessel, with a palm leaf in her other hand. There is also an attendant figure, one of the guardian dewas, standing in the act of adoration behind Māhā Brahma. Heavenly music is indicated as having accompanied the memorable event, as a drum and two flutes are delineated to the right, and a harp to the left, over the head of Brahma. The infant Bodhisat has a nimbus behind his head, and, leaving his mother's side, he throws his little arms forwards for support on to the outstretched hands, covered by the golden net, of Māhā Brahma, the dewa of many ages.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 3.—A small fragment, 6 inches by 5·50 inches. The figures as in the majority of these sculptures are in alto-relievo. They consist of a man and a woman in an erect posture with the fragment of a figure in the background, above and between their heads. A child also must have stood between them, as there are two little feet in that position on the ground. The female figure is heavily draped, and she wears either boots or shoes. It is impossible to say what scene is here represented.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 4.—Another fragment of the same size as the preceding, but with the little nude child perfect. The heads of the two principal figures have been broken off, and the man is represented naked, with the exception of a loose covering over one shoulder, and below the knees.

Presented by the Archaeological Survey of India.

G. 5.—A fragment 14·50 inches by 13 inches. This sculpture originally consisted of three distinct scenes placed one over the other, but the highest is now almost entirely effaced.

In the scene represented in the middle, a woman is asleep on a bed, on the edge of which a man is seated, his right foot resting on a footstool. He is looking and stretching his right arm upwards. At either end of the bed stands a well-draped female figure, the one at the head wearing trousers and a short coat reaching to the knees. External to each of these is another woman, the one to the right on a stool with an instrument like a harp on her lap, while the figure to the left is seated on a cushion, resting her hands and head on a drum lying before her. The man has a loose garment thrown over his left shoulder and falling to his knees, his neck being encircled by a double band-like necklace. The nimbus behind his head reveals who he is, and at the same time the meaning of the scene. It is the "Great Renunciation" that is here represented. The woman, asleep on the bed, is the Princess Yasōdhara, the wife of the future Buddha, Prince Siddhattha, who is seated on the bed; whilst the two women on the floor are the musicians, Ganga and Gotami, who fell asleep over their instruments on the memorable night when the prince forsook the pleasures of his zenana for the life of an ascetic. The standing figures at the couch are difficult to explain, unless they are the wives of the devas, as all the written accounts of this memorable night unite in recording that a deep sleep had overtaken all the ser-

vants in the chamber. Moreover, while in the *Abhineshkrama Sūtra* translated by Prof. Beal, as in this poem in stone, Prince Siddhattha is said to have reposed by the side of his wife on the night of the "Great Renunciation¹," in the Singhalese manuscripts made known to us by Spence Hardy² and Fausböll³, he is described as having slept alone on a splendid couch surrounded by his 40,000 queens, who having danced before him and played on harps, flutes, and cymbals without attracting his attention, followed their lord's example and slept. But, in the rude sculpture from Mathura, he is also represented as rising from the side of his queen on the night on which he made the "Great Renunciation," a scene which has been admirably rendered by Edwin Arnold thus:—

"..... I lay aside these realms
Which wait the gleaming of my naked sword :
My chariot shall not roll with bloody wheels
From victory to victory, till earth
Wears the red record of my name. I choose
To tread its paths with patient, stainless feet,
Making its dust my bed, its loneliest wastes
My dwelling, and its meanest things my mates :
Clad in no prouder garb than outcasts wear,
Fed with no meats save what the charitable
Give of their will, sheltered by no more pomp
Than the dim cave lends or the jungle-bush.
This will I do because the woeful cry
Of life and all flesh living cometh up
Into my ears, and all my soul is full
Of pity for the sickness of this world :
Which I will heal, if healing may be found,

¹ "Romantic History of Buddha," p. 128.

² "Manual of Buddhism," p. 160.

³ "Buddhist Birth Stories," translated by Rhys Davids, p. 81.

By uttermost renouncing and strong strife.

Oh, summoning stars! I come! Oh, mournful earth!
 For thee and thine I lay aside my youth,
 My throne, my joys, my golden days, my nights,
 My happy palace—and thine arms, sweet Queen!
 Harder to put aside than all the rest!
 Yet thee, too, I shall save, saving this earth;
 And that which stirs within thy tender womb,
 My child, the hidden blossom of our loves,
 Whom if I wait to bless my mind will fail¹.”

The story runs that when his fair queen and nautch girls had fallen asleep, he awoke, and arose from his splendid couch with the benign resolution to renounce the pleasures of a royal life, and to assume the sublime rôle of the Saviour of men. Proceeding to the golden door of the apartment, he called out to the noble at guard on the stair, and, discovering that it was Channa, ordered him to saddle his white charger Kanthaka. Now Channa, who accompanied him on his flight, was like the horse itself born on the same day as the Bodhisat². While his horse was being caparisoned by Channa, the prince was drawn, by the irresistible impulse of his love, to look once more on his wife and infant son, Rahula, who, in other accounts, was said to be lying asleep by the side of his mother. Approaching her chamber, he drew aside the purdah, and, by the dim light of a perfumed lamp, he saw his princess asleep with her hand resting on the head of their son. His impulse was to take his first-born in his arms;

¹ “Light of Asin,” p. 94 *et seq.*

² On the same auspicious occasion the Princess Yasodhara, his future wife, was born, also Ananda, his favourite disciple, and the nobleman Kāludāya, who after Prince Siddhattha had attained Buddhahood, was sent by his father, King Suddhodana, to prevail on Gotama Buddha to visit his native city and former home Kapilavatthu. At the same time, the Bodhi tree at Gayā near which he became Buddha and the inexhaustible mines of treasure at Kapilavatthu were formed.

but, seeing that to do so he would have to raise the arm of his wife, who might thus awake and shake his resolution to effect on that night the "Great Renunciation," he stopped on the threshold, and appeased his affection by the reflection that he would return after he had attained Buddhahood, and look again on his son. He then went to the gate of his palace, where he found Kanthaka ready saddled, under the care of Channa. Riding through the city, the noise of the horse's hoofs was muffled by the attendant angels, and, as they approached the wall, the ponderous gates were opened by the guardian angel in charge of them, and he thus departed from Kapilavatthu. This last part of the scene is depicted in the lowermost section of the sculpture.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 6.—An erect figure of Buddha with a man on his right and left, the former holding a flower in his hand, and the other only sparsely clad, with his back towards the visitor, and carrying a heavy club. This latter figure frequently recurs in these sculptures, much in the same way as it stands in this fragment. It is evidently Devadatta, the enemy of the Bodhisat, who is thus represented. He was the son of Supra Buddha, whose wife was a sister of Prince Suddhodana, so that by this relation Devadatta was the cousin of the Bodhisat and also his brother-in-law, as the Princess Yasōdhara was the daughter of Suddhodana and sister of Devadatta. His enmity to the Bodhisat had continued through successive births, and he therefore forms the leading figure in many of the Jātaka tales. He became a Rishi, according to Spence Hardy, by the power of *Dhyāna*, and could pass through the air and assume any form, but while to him this only proved a curse, the attainment of this state by others freed them from birth. It is also related that he tempted some of the followers of Buddha to forsake the Teacher, that he and they fell into heresy, and that he became one of the most

persistent enemies of the Master, and on frequent occasions sought his destruction

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 7.—This fragment measures 20 inches by 7 inches. The central figure of this group, with his back turned towards the spectator, is apparently again Devadatta, who is surrounded by four persons throwing stones or missiles of some kind from an eminence. The scene recalls a well-known event in the life of Buddha, when Devadatta attempted to destroy him by hurling an immense stone at him from the top of the Gijakūta rock. The stone, however, in its course broke into pieces, but a small portion struck the foot of the Teacher and was productive of considerable suffering. He was cured by Jīwaka, the learned physician and foundling son of Sālāwati, the courtesan Princess of Rājagaha, and whose father was Abhaya, the son of King Bimbisāra.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 8.—A fragment (12 inches \times 9.50 inches) of intricate carving representing the same scene as Nos. 3 and 4. The child figure, a boy, but with the head broken off, is standing with up-stretched arms between a man and a woman, and is perfectly naked, while the man, whose head has also been destroyed, is only clad with short-drawers, and with a cloth thrown loosely over his shoulder, falling in folds to his knees. The woman, however, is draped, but with a loose garment that shows the outline of a well-formed figure, while her beautifully carved face, which however is slightly marred by too long a nose, has an expression of deep melancholy. A garment thrown over her shoulders falls in folds to her knees, but is held up gracefully in her left hand, while, in her right, she has apparently supported the folds of her husband's upper garment falling over his left arm which rests on her shoulder. The hair of this female figure is in rich profusion, and is divided in the middle in many folds, and twisted in a great coro-

head downwards, while behind him a man, with only a short cloth around his loins, appears to be anointing him with a fluid poured by the Teacher on the back of his neck, from a lotah with a spout. Devadatta also stands close by the side of Buddha, and is looking enquiringly into his face. The head of this figure is well executed and treated in a thoroughly Grecian style. Further to the left, is a curly-headed man carrying a small vase suspended from a cord. On the Teacher's left hand, is a youthful figure, probably Rāhula, and behind him a shaven monk.

The second scene is the Teacher standing at the side of a tree the stem of which is abruptly cut off below, so that the tree is suspended in the air, and before him is a kneeling figure and other persons to the left and right, one of them apparently Devadatta. At the extreme right of the scene, a figure is standing in front of a closed door, holding its ring-like knocker, the door having a quadrangular hole in its middle, probably intended to permit of the door-keeper observing visitors before admitting them.

From Sahri-Bahlol. Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 12.—Portion of a sculpture (18·50' × 7·75') ended by a pilaster at either side, and divided into two by a broad wall bearing a curious symbol. In the compartment to the right, Buddha stands at the side of the wall under an umbrella with Devadatta. On his left hand, but between the two, appears a shaven priest and the head of another figure above, looking enquiringly down. Bowing to the ground, at the feet of Buddha, is a man naked, with the exception of a cloth around his loins, while another man appears to be groping along-side the wall and leading a companion, behind whom are two others in the background. The scene here represented is the conversion of the clubmen whom Devadatta had hired to kill Buddha.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India

G. 13.—A fragment in bold relief consisting of four figures, only one of which is perfect. It measures 16·75" in height by 7·25" in breadth. The figure to the left with a club is Devadatta, and on his left stand two old shaven or shortly-cropped monks, with the lobes of their ears much distended. Above these appears the fragment of another figure that has apparently been throwing garlands.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 14.—A fragment, probably part of the sculpture of which the previous one formed a part. It measures 16·75" in height and 8·50" in breadth. In front is a man kneeling to the ground which he touches with his forehead, the figure before which he bows having been lost. Behind him stand two men, and above and behind them, there is another with a nimbus behind his head.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 15.—A very imperfect fragment (14·75" × 14·25"). To the left, there is a much mutilated erect figure of Buddha, larger than the other figures to his right, three of which are tolerably perfect. The man next to him is represented in an attitude usually assigned to Devadatta with his back turned outwards. The head of this figure is much broken, and the legs from the knees downwards are wanting. The hair is in short locks, the upper part of the body is naked, and from the waist is worn a short kilt reaching half-way down the thighs. His left hand is placed on the hilt of his short but broad sword, which hangs down on his left thigh in its plain apparently wooden scabbard, suspended by a leather belt. The two adjoining figures are naked in their upper halves, their hair is elaborately dressed and ornamented, and gathered into a great mass on one side: they have large earrings, torques, and necklaces, and each holds some rounded object in his hand. The waist-cloth hangs in loose folds to near the ankles, and the chaddar

is thrown round the left shoulder. Four other figures are represented above these, but they are much mutilated. The subject is unknown.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 16.—A small fragment (5" × 8") consisting of Buddha, seated in a cave or recess, with his right arm passed out from one side of it, and placed on the head of a man without, standing by the side of a palm leaf which rests against a short broad pillar, on the middle of which is a small panel.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 17.—A fragment (22·25" × 9·25"), being portions of two scenes one above the other. The upper scene has contained a seated Buddha, now much mutilated; three shaven monks, and a woman seated on a cushioned stool, with a little boy standing beside her, and above them are the remains of two other figures. This scene is separated from the one below it by a simple cornice with a serrated ornament. The lower scene consists of four figures, and is evidently laid among rocks. In the foreground, two women are standing in a hollow, which may be intended to represent water, both of them apparently with their arms uplifted in devotion, while above them, among the rocks, are two persons, one a man, and the other seemingly a woman, throwing rocks and stones. This scene probably represents the attempt made by Devadatta to destroy Buddha by hurling rocks at him.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 18.—A bas-relief between two pilasters, measuring 19·50" × 10". The pilasters are Indo-Corinthian, and on the outside of the shafts there is a simple elongated panel. In the centre of the sculpture stands a tree, with a vajrāsana in front of it ornamented with the bust of a woman (Māyā), embowered between two palm leaves. Buddha stands on the right of the altar with his right hand resting on it, and behind him are two men, one with a sword hanging from his side, and

probably Devadatta, and the other with opposed hands. To the left of the tree, four figures are looking towards Buddha, a man and three women, the former holding some object in his left hand, and his wife resting on his shoulder, in a rather elegant pose, with her two maids behind her. The male figure in front is evidently a person of importance, although the upper portion of his body is naked, as around his neck is a large torque, and in his ears large earrings, his hair being peculiarly coiled into a large loop on the right side. His wife has her hair in three tiers and wears a large bead necklace. On either side of the tree, above, is a cherub suspended in the air peering downwards, while other figures are seen in the background.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 19.—A figure of Māyā in bold relief standing in an easy attitude on a lotus throne: measurement $17.75'' \times 6.75''$. The ankles are embraced by large heavy anklets. The upper garment is tight-fitting, but from the loins a loose cloth is worn. Around the neck is a torque and also a heavy chain-like necklace.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 20.—A small fragment of a frieze in alto-relievo ($7'' \times 5.75''$), with an imperfect figure of Devadatta, to the left of whom stands a shaven monk, and on the right hand of the latter two figures, one evidently holding an offering. Behind there are the busts of other figures appearing between the heads of those in the foreground.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 21.—A fragment ($11'' \times 6.50''$). Buddha sitting in the attitude of teaching, with Devadatta appearing behind his right shoulder holding his club, and a man as if throwing a large boulder towards the Teacher. On the right of Buddha, a man is holding up a child to him to be blessed, while behind the father are two women. On the opposite

side, a man is carrying away a little child followed by his wife. Behind and above this woman, a figure with opposed hands is eagerly looking on, while three others in a row occur above the last group. This represents the blessing of children by Buddha, and one of the dastardly attempts of Devadatta to destroy him.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 22.—A fragment ($15'' \times 12.50''$). A panel in the centre with a standing figure of Buddha, 6 inches high, surrounded by four of his disciples. There has been another panel above, and below a third, and to the right a line of seated Buddhas in niches, the ornament separating the panels being pure Indo-Corinthian.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 23.—Portion of a frieze ($22''$ long \times $7.75''$ high) in two panels, and part of a third separated by two bold Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the shafts of which gradually decrease in breadth from below upwards. The architrave above them is of the serrated pattern. In the fragment of the third panel, on the left there is Devadatta with his club. In the panel next to this, Buddha is seated under a tree in the attitude of teaching, and he is surrounded by four followers, one of whom holds in both hands an offering for the Teacher. The figures on the either side of Buddha have bared right shoulders. In the next division, Buddha is represented standing with a man who appears to be Devadatta on his right hand, and another and smaller figure to his left under half an arched entrance, with others in the background.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 24.—A fragment ($16.75'' \times 18''$). A seated Buddha with figures making obeisance to him.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 25.—An alto-relievo ($13.75'' \times 7.75''$). A seated Buddha in the attitude of teaching, surrounded by devotees, one

kneeling on his left with opposed palms in adoration, and three others similarly employed, but standing. Looking over Buddha's right shoulder a bearded man appears, probably Devadatta. The figure on the right of Buddha has his back turned outwards, and behind him stands his servant, from whose attitude it is probable that he carried an umbrella, and that this scene commemorates the visit of a prince to the Great Teacher.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 26.—This fragment has contained three distinct compartments, but only one is entire. It represents Buddha standing, attended by three shaven monks and by two other figures. On Buddha's right there is a narrow partition, behind which a man is seen grasping it. To the right of the foregoing group a child stands on a stool in a doorway, and to the right are two seated shaven monks, with a man looking forwards between them. These scenes are below a deep serrated cornice supported on strong brackets, with simple leaf decorations on their under-surface.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 27.—A square sculpture, a fragment, $20\cdot50'' \times 16\cdot75''$. A seated Buddha in the act of teaching, and attended by men, each with a halo behind his head. The other figures are of two laymen, and one of them appears to represent a prince. In Dr. Mitra's Catalogue¹, this sculpture is entered as 877, "Buddha attended by a group of devotees," and he gives Gayā (Behar) as the locality whence it was obtained, and Colonel C. Mackenzie as the donor. The art characters and the stone, however, are such, that I am led to assign it to Gāndhāra.

G. 28.—A frieze, imperfect, measuring $3' 3\cdot75'' \times 7\cdot75''$ high, divided by three Indo-Corinthian pilasters into four compartments, each containing a seated Buddha with his

¹ Catalogue of Curiosities in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 49.

hands hidden in his long sleeves, and his hair thrown backwards from his forehead and behind his ears, but gathered as usual into a top-knot.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 29.—A panel, 15.50" × 17.75", with a heavy Indo-Corinthian architrave over the top, the sides being plain with broad flat ridges. A prince with two women on his left, two men on his right, with three women at a higher elevation above the latter, and three men above the first two women. The man nearest the prince wears a many-cornered high hat, and carries a club like Devadatta. All the figures are smaller than the prince, and one woman is much taller than the other, but both are dressed alike, and their features are very handsome and pleasing. Both stand with their hands clasped before them, and the foremost woman is probably intended to represent Mâyā, and the second, Yasōdhara, the wife of Siddhattha. A long veil falls down from the top knot, into which the hair of each is gathered, and hangs down their backs. There are six to seven bracelets on their arms reaching half-way to the elbow, and they and the prince wear shoes. The man, on the other side of Buddha, is evidently an attendant, as a *chauri* appears to be thrown over his right shoulder. He has a flat skull-cap seemingly trimmed with fur along its margin, and a heavy chain over his left shoulder, his person being entirely clad with a garment in loose folds. The prince has his hair ornately dressed in a large transverse bow the diameter of his head, and with long flowing locks. His ornaments are a broad torque and a long necklace, and his dress consists of loose pyjamas and a chaddar thrown over his left shoulder, the remainder of the upper portion of his body being naked.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 30.—Portion of a bas-relief, 13.50" × 11.50". To the left, there are two small panels, one above the other, in each

of which two children are represented, and to the right of these panels there are three women standing, but their heads are all defaced. They are draped to the ankles, and clad to the neck. Behind and above them, four men are represented, each with the right shoulder bare.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 31.—A fragment, $11'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$, representing Buddha seated under a tree, with a kneeling spiral-haired disciple on one side, and three other figures. Buddha is draped to the neck, while the other figures evidently wear dhoties with the chaddars thrown over the left shoulder, the upper portion of the body being otherwise naked. Three of them, of which the heads are entire, have top-knots like the statues of Buddha, but the hair falls backwards over the neck.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 32.—A bas-relief, $12'' \times 8''$, representing Buddha seated apparently on a cushioned dais ornamented in front with a Wheel of the Law supported on a trisul, on either side of which is an Indian antelope, a male on one side, and a female on the other. On each side of the pedestal, there is a seated monk with a shaven head, and his hands in his ample sleeves. Behind the one on the right of Buddha, there are two other priests, and between the uppermost of them appears the head and shoulders of Devadatta, armed with his club. Above the two last priests there is a man whose back is towards the spectator, and whose right hand rests on a tree. This man has the appearance as if he were falling backwards. His hair is long and hangs in curls over his shoulders. To the left of Buddha, a woman, with opposed hands, appears close to his side, and external to her, there is a man somewhat in the same position as the figure on the opposite side already described. This bas-relief is evidently incomplete.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 33.—A fragment, $14.50'' \times 11.50''$, and consisting of

two small panels the uppermost arched, and the workmanship inferior. In the lower panel there is an erect Buddha holding in his left hand a bowl containing a snake. A tall, bearded, emaciated man stands on his left, holding a long staff, and raising his right hand to his head, as if afraid of the snake in Buddha's alms-bowl. Devadatta is on Buddha's right, and beside them there are six other men. In the scene above Buddha is seated with Devadatta standing on his left and seven other attendant figures. The incident represented in the first scene is thus told by Spence Hardy :—¹

In the Uruwela forest, to which Budha repaired, near the river Niltará, three brothers resided of the same name, Uruwel Kásyapa, Gayá Kásyapa, and Nadi Kásyapa, who gave out that they were rahats, and thus deceived many people, whilst they lived in great plenty and splendour. The oldest brother had 500 disciples, the second 300, and the next 200; a thousand in all. As Budha wished to bring them all into the paths, he went to the residence of Uruwel, and requested permission to remain that night in the fire-hall, or temple. Uruwel replied that he himself had no objection, but that in the hall there was an immense nayá, the poison of which was most subtle; it did not hurt him or his brothers because they were rahats; but as Gótama was not a rahat, though his person was so beautiful, it would be dangerous for him to enter the hall. Budha, as if he had not heard what was said, again requested permission to remain in the fire-hall. Uruwel replied, 'It is no matter to me whether you remain in the fire-hall or not; but remember the fatal serpent.' As Budha could not ask him again, lest his head should be cloven, he fearlessly entered the hall, that he might repose there for the night. The nayá came forth, and asked in anger, 'Who is this that has entered my mansion as if it were his own?' at the same time sending forth a poisonous blast. Budha reflected, 'Were

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

I to send forth a blast, it would burn up the universe, as though it were only a cobweb; nevertheless, I must try to bring down this serpent's pride.' Accordingly he sent forth a fiery vapour, as from a burning wisp of straw, but it would not hurt an ant or a fly; and when it approached the nayá, he felt the pain of sorrow, but the flesh of his body received no injury. The nayá sent forth a flame to destroy Budha; but he made a flame seven times more powerful, and subdued the nayá. The light was perceived by Uruwel, and he said that Gótama must have perished from not attending to his advice. When Budha had overcome the nayá, he put it in his alms-bowl, after extracting its poison. The next morning he called Uruwel and told him to look at the nayá about which he had boasted so much the day previous; and when he saw it in the alms-bowl, his attention was directed towards Budha, as if ashamed. The brothers said that he might subdue the nayá, but that still he was not a rahat."

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 34.—Portion of a beautiful frieze, 2' \times 7.50", in alto-relievo, with numerous erect human figures exquisitely carved, standing on an expansion of a cornice consisting of a series of parallel rounded mouldings. In this scene, there are two figures of Buddha, one in the centre, but the whole of the frieze is not present, and two distinct scenes are represented, and part of a third to the right. The central figure, like the other figure of Buddha, has a nimbus, and Devadatta is on Buddha's left perfectly naked, with his back turned to the spectator. This figure is admirably sculptured, but, unfortunately, the head is lost. To the right of Buddha there is a long-haired man, placed further back than a figure a little to the right of him. This latter person is evidently addressing Buddha, and is represented so emaciated that all his ribs are visible. He is evidently a mendicant, and two others occur to his right, but they are not so lean. There is a man to the

right of Devadatta, the upper part of his body naked, but the shoulders and chest have a double ornament of beads. Still further to the right, there is another man, the tips of his thumbs and fingers opposed and directed downwards, the upper part of his body being nude, with the exception of the left shoulder. The downward direction of the fingers, and the way in which they are opposed is peculiar to this sculpture. Adjoining him there is another figure of Devadatta with his club, and also holding a *chauri*, whilst the next man is pointing to the right. Unfortunately, the heads of all the figures in this bas-relief, with the exception of the long-haired man next the central Buddha, have their heads broken off.

The group on the left side of the relief is an interesting scene, of which there is a fragmentary representation in another sculpture. The most perfect figure to the left is Buddha, evidently pointing towards a little dog seated on a table covered with an ornamental cloth hanging down between the legs of the table, while, on one side of it, there are two women who appear to be restraining the dog. Below the table, there is an object which may be intended to represent a dog asleep. This beautiful sculpture retains evidences of having been gilt with gold.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 35.—A fragment, 10 75" x 7". Buddha seated in a cave with a man on the right of it playing a stringed instrument resembling a harp, and with the indications of other figures about the cave. The presence of a tiger, in a cave below, is to indicate that the scene was laid in the jungle. The sculpture resembles the Mathura bas-relief No. 7, and the two probably refer to the conversion of the Raja of Upatissa, the intimate friend and associate of Raja Kolita, both of whom abandoned the pursuit of pleasure in search of Nirvāna, and became ascetics. The following is Rhys Davids¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

account of their conversion:—"Now at that time two ascetics, named Sāriputta and Moggallāna, were living near Rājagaha, seeking after salvation. Of these, Sāriputta, seeing the Elder Assaji on his begging round, was pleasurably impressed by him, and waited on him, and heard from him the verse beginning

'What things soever are produced from causes,' and he attained to the blessings which result from conversion; and repeated that verse to his companion Moggallāna, the ascetic. And he, too, attained to the blessings which first result from conversion And the Master appointed these two to the office of his Chief Disciples; and on the day on which Sāriputta the Elder attained Arāhatship, he held the so-called Council of the Disciples." In the account given by Spence Hardy¹ it is stated that Sāriputta heard Buddha deliver the discourse in the cave called Hūrūkula, near Rājagaha.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 36.—Portion of a frieze measuring 22" x 7", divided into two scenes by a central pilaster with an Indo-Corinthian capital, and a figure of a child on the shaft. To the right of the pilaster, Buddha is standing with Devadatta on his left hand. Buddha holds down his alms-bowl in his right hand to a little boy who has left his plaything, a toy cart, which is lying at the feet of the Teacher, to rise and put his hands in the bowl, while, behind him sitting on the ground, there is another child playing with some object, but looking round to see what his companion is about. There are a number of other figures considerably injured. To the left of the pilaster Buddha is seated in the attitude of teaching, with human figures on either side, one of them on his right hand making an offering.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

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figures overlooking these two, and behind the head of one of them, is a nimbus. This group, as a whole, is represented as standing under an arched way with palms on one side, but, to the right of Buddha, there is a recess in which a brick structure is placed. Standing in front of the Teacher, a child is holding something in its hands, and, immediately to the left, there is the following remarkable group to which the child belongs. A Yaksha is seated under the arched doorway of a low building, with the emaciated figure of a woman lying over his knee, the head hanging down with long flowing locks. The Yaksha has something in his left hand, and the whole impression given by the sculpture is that it represents a cannibal scene, as other Yakshas are seated over the doorway, one undoubtedly engaged in eating what very much resembles the breast cut off the victim below, while he holds in his left hand an object that suggests a human limb. A little Yaksha is seated beside the cannibal, in the house, and grasps the other breast.

Mr. Rhys Davids¹ says that "the Yakshas, products of witchcraft and cannibalism, are beings of magical power, who feed on human flesh. The male Yaksha occupies in Buddhist stories a position similar to that of the wicked genius in the Arabian Nights; the female Yakshinī, who occurs more frequently, usually plays the part of siren."

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 43.—A fragment of a small bas-relief, 9·50" long, by 5·50" in height. The usual pilaster commences the sculpture on the left, with, in this instance, a seated figure of Buddha on its shaft. Buddha stands in the centre of a group of five persons, one of whom is kneeling before him, while behind him is Devadatta almost naked.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 44.—A fragment, 8·50" × 5·50"—a man, a woman, and

¹ "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. XIV, foot-note 2.

a child. The man is standing below a tree, and has a head of curly hair, and a moustache and beard. His slight clothing is represented falling down, so as to expose his person, and his right arm is akimbo, while his left rests on the shoulder of the woman whose back is turned towards him. On to the right arm of the man, a small child climbs apparently from the neighbouring tree, but the sculpture is imperfect in this direction. The woman is clothed with a tight-fitting dress above, but, from her waist downwards, she is in loose drapery. This sculpture represents the same scene as Nos. 3, 4, and 8. Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 45.—An arched recess imperfect, in two sections, the upper having an erect figure of Buddha with a disciple on either side of him, and the lower section a seated Buddha with two attendants. In a small triangular recess, external to the lower section, there is a seated figure adoring. The ornament of the front of the arch consists of a succession of divergent leaflets.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 46.—Portion of a chapel, $16'' \times 10 \cdot 50''$. The greater part of the ornament consists of a series of circles formed by the branching of a simple stem, each circle containing a wreath of a lotus flower, and, in front of the two lower ones, a kneeling human figure, on a Corinthian capital, is sculptured in relief. To the left of this, there is the commencement of three enclosed concentric arches, two separated from one another by winged snake-like animals; in the lowermost arch is a human figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 47.—A frieze, $31 \cdot 25'' \times 4 \cdot 40''$, in three pieces, divided into five compartments by Indo-Corinthian pilasters, each with an elongated sunken panel, the scenes being almost an exact repetition the one of the other, *viz.*, a seated Buddha with two seated figures on each side of him, one of them generally a shaven monk.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 48.—A small bas-relief, 12" \times 5.50". To the right, in a recess, there is a pillar with the capital broken off, and at the opposite end is another similar pillar, the shaft expanding gradually from above downwards, the base being disk-like, with the exception of the quadrangular slab on which it stands, and which forms a projecting edge around the base of the shaft, below the disk-like portion. These bases evidently resemble those of the Mathura pillars. The capitals are Indo-Corinthian. External to the recess of the left pillar there is a fragment of a female figure taller than the pillar itself. The scene between the two-pillared recesses represents a man on horse-back, closely followed by a woman carried, in a canopied litter, by men, before and behind, two of whom, however, are only represented. The horseman, who has his left hand on the litter, is dressed in a short coat with a belt round his waist, and with trousers and shoes, the former tied round the ankle. In the background, there are two other figures, their hair tied in top-knots. This scene may represent Māyā proceeding to the Lumbini garden, or Yasōdhara going out to meet Gotama, on his return to Kapilavatthu.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 49.—A portion of a long narrow frieze, 14.50" \times 5", consisting of eleven figures, the three to the left being women, and all the other men, and the central figure Buddha. All, with the exception of one of the women, are represented standing, but she is seated on a low stool with a musical instrument in front of her, whilst the next woman is also a musician, and the last a *danseuse*. Buddha is in the erect position, and between him and the woman there is a figure with two attendants to his right, dressed in short coats or kilts, and with short sleeves to their somewhat loose garments. This man is taking something from a basket, or other receptacle held in the hand of one of his servants; and the figure on the left hand of Bud-

dha is also removing some object from the cloth of an adjoining man, whilst the two persons, to the extreme right, are holding their hands in adoration. The bas-relief is completed at this end by a man resting his left leg on the base of a pilaster that forms an appropriate ending. This pilaster is Indo-Corinthian, and is marked by a curious symbol. The figures are grouped on a broad base, and the architrave above them rests on their heads, and is decorated with the serrated ornament prevalent in these sculptures.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 50.—A fragment, 20" x 8" divided into two scenes by an Indo-Corinthian pilaster, with the figure of a child on it, to the right of which Buddha is represented in the act of descending from the air. The power of flying through the air is called *karma-wipākaja-irāhi*, and according to the ethics of Buddhism is "possessed by all birds and déwas, by some men, and by some yakás¹." He is surrounded by a group of eight persons, all of whom have the right shoulder uncovered. In the other scene, Buddha is represented seated under a tree, a monk pouring water over his feet, which are being washed by a lay figure seated in front, while other figures appear behind. Devadatta also appears in the scene. It would seem to represent the washing of Buddha's feet by the five ascetics of Isipatana, who, on his arrival there, were disposed to believe that he had not succeeded in attaining Buddhahood, and had made up their minds not to rise at his approach, but simply to offer him a seat. By the influence of his presence, however, and the force of his kindness, they not only rose, but washed his feet².

¹ Spence Hardy, p. 523 This absurd superstition, so far as man is concerned, is not dead even in the 19th century, with all its enlightenment! See—"Stray Feathers," Vol. X, No. 4 (1882), p. 253.

² Spence Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 51.—A frieze, $14\cdot50'' \times 5\cdot50''$, divided into two scenes, in the same way as the last sculpture, but the scene to the right is only represented by a much defaced fragment of three men, one of them kneeling. In the other scene, Buddha is erect, with a princely looking figure on his right who is going to make some offering to the Teacher, while Devadatta stands on his left hand.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 52.—A sculpture, $10'' \times 5\cdot25''$, divided into two sections by a male child with its hands in adoration, and standing on a stool in a doorway, the head reaching to the lintel. On each side of it there is a rudely executed group of no interest.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 53.—A portion of a frieze, $4\cdot50'' \times 6\cdot50''$, consisting of a pilaster to the right with an Indo-Corinthian capital and two children on it in relief, and a group of four standing figures, two of them in the usual reverential attitude.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 54.—A bas-relief, $12'' \times 4\cdot75''$, consisting of two groups, in each of which Buddha is the central figure and is receiving offerings.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 55.—A fragment, $11'' \times 6''$, being portion of a nimbus on which a standing human figure is represented in relief on a lotus pedestal, with a glory behind its head, but with its hands clasped before it in adoration.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 56.—A fragment of a chapel, $14''$ high by $13\cdot50''$, in greatest breadth, and consisting of three arches, one within the other. On the outermost, a bird is perched, its head resting on its back. In the recess of the lowermost arch, there is an erect figure of Buddha attended by a shaven monk, and a layman. In the arch above, Buddha is seated and

attended by two persons, and two mythical monsters with the fore parts of lions and the hinder parts in a snake-like coil.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 57.—A male figure, 9·75" high, but imperfect.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 58.—A small sculpture, 8 inches in height, with a maximum breadth of about 5 inches. It recalls the classical representations of the chariot of the sun, and it has a close resemblance to the sculpture on the corner pillar of the Buddha Gayā railing. The chariot, if such it be, rests on the backs of the rearing horses, the hind legs and tails of which constitute its only support. In its centre, there is a cushioned dais on which a man is seated, whose left foot rests on the front of the chariot, his right leg being crossed over his left knee. The head of the figure is unfortunately broken off. He is draped from the waist downwards, his right shoulder is uncovered, and on his neck, there is a torque and also a necklace. Behind this seated figure there is a large disk, over which the horns of a crescent rise up behind its shoulder. A well-draped male figure stands on the left hand of the chariot, but unfortunately the head, and the right arm, which has been raised, have been broken off, but the left arm remains, and rests akimbo. The figure in all likelihood held a *chauri*. The feet of a smaller figure exist on the other side. The front legs of all the horses are broken off, but the heads remain, more or less injured. Below the hind feet of the horses, there is a rather well-carved, nearly nude, partially kneeling or crouching male figure looking up as if he were afraid he would be crushed beneath the horses' feet, and, on each side of this figure, there are the remains of the feet of two other figures. It may be that this is simply a representation of the chariot and horses of a conquering monarch, *Cakkavatti*, crushing his enemies; but whatever the subject may be, the sculpture has decided Greek affinities.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 59.—A portion of a chapel, an arched fragment 18·50" high \times 20·50", consisting of three arches within one another, and diminishing in size from below upwards. The lowest compartment holds a standing Buddha in the attitude of teaching with three human figures on his right, two making offerings, and the other Devadatta, and two on his left, the latter being Nāgas, represented rising out of a kind of platform, the hindermost figure being a woman. This probably represents the worship of Buddha by Airāpata Nāga, the scene so well depicted on one of the corner pillars of the south gate of the Bharhut railing. The arch defining this compartment consists of a wreath of pointed scales. In the compartment above, a seated Buddha occurs under the apex of the arch, and down the slope, resting on the scaly wreath, a man kneels on either side of him with an extraordinary being external to each half human, but with the hind limbs of a ruminant, and a wing springing out of the thigh, with a long smooth serpentine body behind, ending in a fish's tail. In the uppermost arch, the alms-bowl of Buddha rests on a cushioned dais with a worshipper on each side of it, external to which is a monster, similar to the last described. These peculiar figures mean nothing more than a device of the artist to fill up the narrow tapering interval between the two arches. At the point at which the three arches diverge, there is a large seated Buddha. The ornament of the outlines of the two upper arches is the serrated pattern, and external to this, over the uppermost arch, on each of its sections, is a spray of alternate leaves meeting above in a rosette, while, external to this, there is a jointed ornament consisting of long cylinders.

From Takht-i-Bahi. Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 60.—A frieze, 25·75" long \times 6·75" high, much defaced,

so much so, that it is impossible to determine what the scenes could have been. To the extreme right is a man with a plaited kilt and with long hair, and to his right a leafless tree, each branch terminating in a large flower, on the right of which stands a male figure, immediately outside of an arched compartment; to the left, a child is seated at the base of the pillar from which the arch springs, with a female figure within the arch. Further to the left there are the outlines of a seated female and male figure on thrones, with footstools before them. External to the arched compartment on the side, a male figure, much injured, is bent in such a position as if it were led away by the hair of the head, its arms being tied, with its hands secured behind its back, other figures appearing behind it and to its right. The left end of the frieze terminates in a cocoanut palm.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 61.—A portion of a frieze in alto-relievo, 18" long \times 7.75" high, consisting of a group of 14 human figures, the details being excellently carved. Two scenes are represented, one to the right, and another to the left. In the scene to the right, a man prostrates himself before Buddha, touching the earth with his forehead, a man inviting him into his house from the door of which another person comes forth; while to the left of the other Buddha, a man is kneeling. To the right, there is a pilaster with two boys represented on it.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 62.—*F*—A small portion of a frieze, measuring 5" broad by 6.50" high. A pilaster with a floral capital to the right, with the male children with opposed palms on the shaft. To the left of the pilaster, there is a small tree under which a prince and a boy occur, the prince holding a javelin in his left hand.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 63.—A seated figure of Buddha under the Bodhi tree,

with an attendant figure in the attitude of adoration. In this bas-relief Buddha is represented with a moustache, and the attendant has long hair falling down his shoulders and a high top-knot. Size $9.75'' \times 8.75''$

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 64.—A figure of a man, $9.75''$ high, but wanting the feet and the lower half of the right arm, and thickly but loosely draped from the neck downwards half-way below the knee. It has a thick beard and moustache, and the hair of the head is without a top-knot, and is cut evenly across the forehead. In the ears, there are small earrings.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 65.—A triangular fragment of a chapel, $12.20'' \times 8''$, consisting of a series of nearly complete circles formed by the branching of a simple stem, each circle containing a lotus rosette; over two of these, a kneeling man has been sculptured resting on the floral capital of a large pilaster. To the right of this ornament, there appears to have been a series of arches or portions of arches within one another, as in the other fragments of chapels already described.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 66.—A small group, $7'' \times 8''$, representing a draped male figure, probably Buddha, standing in front of an elephant with his hand on its head. Other human figures appear behind, but they are mutilated. The elephant is represented standing under a doorway, its head ornamented with a wreath, and a curious tapered octagonal body, resembling a crystal, in its trunk. This is probably a fragment of the elephant incident in the life of Buddha.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 67.—A portion of a frieze, $25'' \times 5.75''$. To the left, it ends in a pilaster on which there is a bas-relief of a child with opposed hands. In this frieze five scenes in the life of Buddha are represented, two of them in the sitting and three

in the erect attitude of teaching. In the scene to the left, a little child is standing to the left of Buddha, and evidently holding on to his arm, whilst a man behind the child is looking forwards in a reverential and expectant manner, the woman on the right hand of Buddha standing with bared right shoulder, holding up her hands in reverence for the Teacher. Another figure is seen in the background, behind the father of the child. To the right there is the second scene, in which the seated Buddha has a woman sitting on his right, and a man, in a similar position, on his left, with two human figures above, and another beyond the woman. A little child stands in front of the throne on which Buddha is seated, raising its right arm and catching hold of that part of the garment of the Blessed One which hangs over his right arm. The throne is a cushioned seat, the front of which is draped with cloth, and the legs are carved. To the right of this, and forming part of the next scene which resembles G. 61, a man is coming out of a door over which appears to have been a celestial figure, and in front of this man another is bending in obeisance, while another in front is kneeling and kissing the feet of Buddha, as he descends from the air. To his left appears the shoulder of a man with a cloak resembling that worn by the men in the Silenus group from Mathura. The left foot of the descending Buddha lightly touches the corner of a low throne on which a man, without a nimbus, is seated but with bared right shoulder, and over-looked by three men in the background. In the next scene Buddha is seated, with a man sitting on either side of him. The next and last scene is a standing Buddha. To his left, there is a man with his right hand lifted above his head and facing half-round to Buddha, while on the left of this figure a man is bending down and leaning to one side, with his right hand in an appealing attitude, and holding some object in his left hand, possibly an offering.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 68.—A fragment, probably that of a frieze, 12" x 7". To the right, is an erect much mutilated figure of Buddha with a female Nāga kneeling in front of him, with a four-headed cobra over her head, and with her hand in the attitude of beseeching, while Buddha's right hand is raised in the attitude of warning away. The figure of Buddha is thickly clad. The right shoulder of the Nāga is bare. There is a group of human figures to the left, probably a continuation of the story. A man to the left of this scene, with his right hand upraised, holding a weapon of some kind, is dragging away a woman whose garments having fallen down behind, expose her person. The other figures cannot be well made out, but, still further to the left, one is looking upwards and is apparently throwing an object at the woman, while another below him seems to be lifting up a stone with the same purpose. A pilaster ends the sculpture to the left, with a child figure in relief on two of its sides. This scene may represent the first part of the punishment of the female ascetic Chinchī who brought a false charge of incontinence against Gotama, as already described, and who was first beaten, and afterwards devoured by the flames of hell which broke out and enveloped her like her crimson robe.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 69.—Fragment of a frieze, 13.25" x 4", also divided, by a child in a doorway, into two groups. To the left Buddha is seated with two shaven monks sitting on his left hand, and two lay figures in the background. In the scene to the right, there are five standing human figures, all engaged in adoration of some person to the right, but lost, as the scene is imperfect.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 70.—A fragment, probably of a chapel, or a portion of the ornaments about a large bas-relief which bore a

representation of a seated Buddha with attendant seated figures. At the upper right corner, there are the remains of a large foot on an ornate footstool, with portion of a seated figure to the left, on a low chair, with the foot resting on a small footstool. Below, there is a floral architrave, and under it a verandah in which there are three women, with a battlemented doorway below. To the right, there is a monkey cut in relief on a medallion, and below this a portion of a male figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 71.—A rather rudely carved fragment of a frieze, $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$, with the ordinary form of pillar to the left, and a palm tree alongside of it. Devadatta is standing beside an erect figure of Buddha.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 72.—A fragment of an ornamental panel with a *pī'pal* tree, below which is a figure seated on a cushioned throne, and, to the left of this, a woman and a man, with the upper portions of two other figures above them.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 73.—Fragments of two scenes separated from one another by a child standing in a doorway on a stool, with right arm akimbo. The scene on the left is imperfect, but Devadatta appears with his club. To the right, Buddha is seated in a cave, and visited by two persons with offerings.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 74.—A small fragment, $6.75'' \times 3.75''$, covered with figures, among which are two of Buddha, one seated and the other standing. In front of the throne of the former, two very young children are crawling on their knees, one of them having an object resembling a knife in his hand, while to the left of Buddha is a man in the act of drawing his sword, while, to his right, a man is shrinking back. In the background are spectators.

This may probably be intended to represent the *Mahosadha*

Jātaka, a tale which relates how the Bodhisat, in a previous existence, gave a judgment the parallel of that given by Solomon, but perhaps more true to human nature.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 75.—A group of three figures, 11" high; two women are seated side by side, and a man stands in the background.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 76.—A portion of a frieze, 18" long by 5·75" deep, in two panels separated by an Indo-Corinthian pilaster in a recess, a succession of these having evidently divided off the scenes represented in the frieze. To the left of the pilaster, Buddha is standing with Devadatta who is naked to his thighs and carries his club in his left hand, while with his right hand he holds up his garments. Close to Devadatta stands a man with his right shoulder uncovered, but with both his hands hidden in his garments. On Buddha's right a man, with clasped hands, is evidently addressing Buddha, while there are three figures in the background. In the panel to the right, Buddha is standing on the right of a tree decorated with streamers and with a throne in front of it. Devadatta and other figures appear in the background.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 77.—A fragment, 13" \times 6·75", of a chapel with two compartments and two erect figures of Buddha with attendants.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 78.—Portion of a double arch measuring 9·50" \times 6·75": the same as G. 56 but smaller; the pinnacle is broken and the greater part of the bird is missing.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 79.—A mutilated fragment, 10" \times 6", representing the death of Buddha. On the drapery in front of the bench on which he rests, there is a figure like the so-called St. Andrew's cross, on the shield and banner in the Bharhut sculptures, and likened by Fergusson to a Union Jack in his description of

a similar banner in the Sanchi sculptures. Buddha, 6' 75" long, is reclining on his right side at perfect rest, an attitude in which the Master is frequently represented in Buddhist sculptures, but in this Museum there are only a very few illustrations of it, and all of them are very small. It doubtless represents Buddha after his death, but formerly such subjects were occasionally described as the 'Nirvāṇa of Buddha.' It may, however, be considered as emblematical of the perfect mental and moral peace that results from the attainment of the 'excellent way,' a condition known as nirvāṇa, and which succeeds the destruction of passion, malice, and delusion—the conquering of the lust of the flesh and the pride of life. One who has become in these respects perfect, according to the very high moral and intellectual standard of self-culture inculcated by Buddha, and has rid himself of the ten Sangyojanas or Fetters¹, has attained to Arahatsip, a state of perfect purity, rest, and holiness. It was very recently held by some scholars that nirvāṇa means the annihilation of the soul, but all more recent research² points to the conclusion that nirvāṇa, as taught by Gotama and his disciples, is only another name for holiness of life in this world, and that this wonderful system of religion inculcated love of holiness simply for its own sake, and for the rest and peace which it confers on man. It held out no reward of a future life of which Buddhism, as a philosophical system, taught nothing, its great duty having been to deal with the miseries of this knowable present. What a sublime mind must Gotama's have been to have originated so glorious a system of ethics!

¹ These are—1, Delusion of self; 2, Doubt; 3, Dependence on rites; 4, Sensuality, bodily passions; 5, Hatred, ill-feeling; 6, Love of life on earth; 7, Desire of life in heaven; 8, Pride; 9, Self-righteousness; 10, Ignorance.—Rhys Davids' "Buddhism," p. 109

² "Buddhism," Rhys Davids; Indian Buddhism (Hibbert Lecture), 1881, Rhys Davids; Dr. Frankfurter, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol XII, 1880, p. 548.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 80.—The figure of a centaur, $8\frac{1}{4}$ " high, but unfortunately wanting the head and front legs. The animal has been represented rearing, but the human hands are clasped over the chest, holding some object.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 81 a to g.—Seven seated winged male human figures, part of a frieze or architrave, $7\cdot25" \times 6\cdot50"$. These figures, with two exceptions, are represented with one knee bent and the hands resting either on the knees or thrown upwards as if supporting a weight. In the exceptions, the figures are seated with their feet drawn under them, a hand resting on each knee. Two of them have beards and moustaches, and as a rule all are well sculptured; the muscles of the chest and abdomen are truthfully represented. Some are lightly draped, a garment being thrown over the left shoulder. Others have boots reaching half-way to the knee. One figure has a torque round the neck with a pendant attached to it. In all, the wings are boldly represented.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 82.—A fragment, $13" \times 9"$. A scene consisting of seven men, two of whom are engaged in wrestling and are nearly nude, the attitude and muscles of each figure being excellently portrayed. A nude figure occurs also to the right, apparently holding up an umbrella over the head of a well-draped man, who holds up his right hand as if intervening in some stage in the struggle. Two other draped figures also occur in the background, and another muscular, almost naked man to the left. It is noteworthy that the short hair of these wrestlers is represented in small curly locks as in statues of Buddha.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 83 a to i.—Nine seated winged human figures, in much the same attitudes as the previous seven, but smaller and

more roughly carved. Three of them are bearded and naked in the upper part of their bodies, but one headless figure has a loose garment thrown over the left shoulder and secured in front of the shoulder by a round brooch, after the manner of the Greeks.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 84.—A carved fragment of the arch of a chapel, measuring $6\cdot76'' \times 5\cdot40''$, with a half-kneeling human figure in the corner of the arch, and the head of a man in the recess of the panel below.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 85 a to c.—Three fragments of an architrave representing human male figures, holding on their shoulders an elongated garland, ornamented at intervals with bunches of fruit, which are being eaten by children, and by a crow. Behind, and above each undulation of the garland, there is stationed a winged male or female figure.

Presented by J. G. Delmerick, Esq., to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 6th July 1870.

G. 86.—A fragment of the arch of a chapel containing an erect figure of Buddha, much mutilated, with two erect figures on his left hand.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 87.—An Indo-Corinthian pilaster, $17\cdot25''$ high $\times 7''$ broad, with a man sculptured in bold relief on the flat shaft. This figure is $8''$ high and has a simple loose garment, exposing the right shoulder. The hands are held opposed, and the head bent forwards in adoration.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 88.—A fragment, $11'' \times 11''$. The principal portion consists of a lady at her toilet; this scene is represented in a recess between two pillars, and under an arch with plain cylindrical shafts and Indo-Corinthian capitals, only a simple ring occurring in the middle of each shaft. Resting on the

pillar there is a small verandah, with a Buddhist railing in front of it, and behind this are seen the upper portions of three women. To the left of the toilet scene there is a fragment of a male figure carrying some object in his hands, with another figure to his right but much mutilated. This figure is standing outside a door, over which are a series of battlements. A bird is represented climbing up the outside of the recesses in which the three women are. One maid is brushing the lady's hair, while the other is holding a bowl for her.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 89.—A triangular fragment with two figures in relief, one lying on the ground with its back towards the spectator, the upper portion being the body of a human being, but the legs terminate, from the hips downwards, in two snake-like coils; the other figure, which is quite nude, has grasped the end of the left coil with his right hand, while with his left hand he has seized the head of the monster which swings a heavy club to destroy his foe. This fragment has been described by General Cunningham¹ as "Heraklēs fighting with a snake-legged giant."

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 90.—A triangular sculpture with a plain flat margin leading into a depression, in which a peacock is figured, although the tail in its relative length to the body is not more than that of a peafowl's.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 91.—A triangular fragment, representing an animal with a horse's head and neck, large wings, and a fish's tail. This figure is covered over, with the exception of the wings, by small rings cut *en creux*.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 92.—The back portion of the upper half of a head of Buddha; the head has a nimbus in relief against a semi-

¹ Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 200.

circular slab, 15·50" × 8", bearing an inscription on its right corner.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 93.—A fragment, 5" × 7·50", of the left upper part of the arch of a chapel with its pinnacle, and with a bird on the outside of the arch. There is a secondary inner arch separated from the main arch by a radiated arrangement. The secondary arch has contained some scene, as there is a portion of a human figure remaining.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 94.—*a to d*.—Four portions of a frieze. Children supporting on their shoulders a long undulated garland on which are tied bunches of grapes, and other ornaments in the drooping folds, above which, in some, appear the busts and heads of winged human figures, and in one a bird of prey with extended wings, while in others the intervals are filled up with floral devices.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 95.—A portion of a frieze much weathered and defaced, measuring 18" × 6·75", bearing in relief six naked boys, the two central ones each holding a bird, probably a cock.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 96.—A roughly sculptured fragment, 18" × 9·50", slightly curved and probably portion of an architrave, consisting of a Buddhist railing in the middle, with a series of small figures, above in a row, standing under arched ways, between pillars, and with another row below of seated Buddhas in recesses, with an attendant on either side, each group being separated from its fellow by a short pillar in a recess.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 97.—Portion of an architrave, 17·5" × 3·20", consisting of five Indo-Corinthian brackets, with a secondary architrave above them. The workmanship coarse.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 98.—A fragment of a frieze, $8'' \times 4' 50''$. Two erect figures under an arched way between two pillars, and, to the left, another figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 99.—A cornice, $32'' \times 50 \times 3''$, consisting of 20 brackets in Indo-Corinthian style.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 100.—A portion of a frieze consisting of four pieces with a total length of $4' 1' 50''$, and height of $7' 50''$, consisting of a series of arches conjointly resting on Indo-Corinthian pilasters, with plain sunken panels on the shafts. The figures under the arches are Buddhas and lay figures. On either side of the outside of each arch, a bird, probably a parrot, is perched. These architraves, like some other of the Yuzufzai sculptures, are covered with a thin pale yellowish layer, of calcareous tufa.

G. 101.—A fragment, $12'' \times 5' 25''$, representing three men, each looking out of an arched window with lattice-work below it, consisting of a series of squares with small open quadrangular spaces, the arch of each window being supported by pilasters. A cloth hangs out over the lattice-work, in front of each figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 102.—A frieze in two pieces, but with a total length of $15''$ and breadth of $5' 50''$. It represents the railing of a Buddhist stūpa with three crossbars, and an Indo-Corinthian architrave.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by J. G. Delmerick, Esq., 6th July 1870.

G. 103.—A fragment, $12'' \times 9''$, depicting a domestic scene, a man feeding a mare which is suckling its foal, while, to the left of this, a woman, seated on a low stool, is engaged in washing her child in a tub. Another woman appears in the background, and the heads of two horses over a wall which is partially arched.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 104.—A fragment of a frieze, $3'' \times 4'10''$, consisting of two erect human figures under an arch.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 105.—A frieze, $19'' \times 2'25''$, consisting of seven compartments of two kinds, alternating with one another. The first to the right is a quadrangular recess, followed by an arch, under which is a relic of Buddha covered by a cloth.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 106.—Portion of an architrave, $19'' \times 2'75''$, consisting of a wreath of much elongated leaves.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 107. *a—b*. Two fragments, probably the architrave of a pilaster. They conjointly measure $23'50''$, and are $4''$ broad. The upper portion is a line of brackets, below which there is a line of human figures, visible to nearly their waists, and with *chauries* in their hands.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 108.—Eight fragments of a frieze consisting of Indo-Persian pillars at intervals with arches, covering a seated Buddha, or a child with clasped hands.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 109.—Fragment of a frieze, $8' \times 3'25''$, consisting of alternate pillars and arches, a child in a devotional attitude under each arch.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 110. *a—b*.—Two fragments of a frieze, $2'1''$ long and $3'40''$ high, consisting of alternate arches and pilasters, each four in number. Under the first arch, on the right hand, is a seated figure of Buddha, and below the others three devotees with clasped hands.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 111.—A small fragment of a frieze, $11'' \times 3''$, consisting of three Indo-Persian pilasters and arches, with a human figure below each of the latter.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 112.—A rough piece of carving, $13'' \times 3.50''$, of a narrow frieze consisting of human figures standing in various attitudes under arches carved against the background; the figures being separated by Indo-Persian pillars in recesses.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 113.—Another fragment of a frieze, $6.50'' \times 4''$, with a relic of Buddha on a cushioned stool or pedestal, and covered with a cloth.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 114.—Another fragment of a frieze, $5.50'' \times 3.50''$, with the hair of Prince Siddhattha under an arch.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 115.—Another fragment with a naked male child under an arch, and under another the bowl of Buddha on a cushioned stool, with an umbrella above it.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 116.—Another fragment, $7.25'' \times 2.50''$, of a much smaller frieze and of the same nature, but without the umbrella.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 117.—Another fragment, $11.50'' \times 2.50''$, with three round bodies on a pedestal, one placed above two, and under an adjoining arch another relic of Buddha.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 118.—Portion of a narrow frieze, measuring $12.50'' \times 2.70''$, consisting of alternate pilasters in recesses with seated figures under arches.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

Case No. 3.

G. 119.—The head of a woman, probably Māya. It measures $5.75''$ from the chin to the top-knot. The features are good and well sculptured; the hair is brushed back and

gathered into a great top-knot, and a beaded fillet encircles the head.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 120.—A head of Buddha, 9" high from the chin to the top-knot. The hair is in wavy folds, and is gathered into the usual mass on the vertex. There is the *ṭikuli* or *tika* on the fore-head, and the nose is slightly aquiline.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 121.—The upper third, 14", of the figure of a prince in alto-relievo, with a nimbus behind the head. The face is very well carved, but unfortunately the nose is broken. As is not unfrequent in statues from Yuzufzai, the pupils of the eye are represented. The hair falls in long wavy locks behind the ears, and is bound by a jewelled fillet and gathered into a top-knot. A broad torque set with gems, a heavy chain necklace and a small simple chain are around the neck. Over the left shoulder is a *tawiz*, that is a piece of cord to which small silver cylinders filled with shell-lac are strung—an ornament still worn in India. The right shoulder is bare, but a loose garment is thrown over the left shoulder and wound round the body below.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 122.—The corner piece of a frieze 12·60", high, consisting of two pilasters at right-angles to each other with Indo-Corinthian capitals, and each with an elongated sunken panel, one or two of the human figures of each frieze remaining.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 123.—A head of Buddha 8" high, consisting chiefly of the facial portion.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 124.—A figure of Buddha without the head, arms. and feet, clad in loose drapery.

No history.—Asiatic Society of Bengal.

G. 125. a—b.—An almost perfect figure of Buddha, 3 feet

high, but without the hands. Behind the head is a plain nimbus, and over it an umbrella, 125*l*, has been placed to illustrate how these adjuncts of rank were used in these sculptures. The figure stands on a throne in the attitude of teaching, and is rather squat, but the features are finely formed. On the front of the pedestal or throne, which is 3.25" high, there is a seated Buddha, and to the right of it two erect figures much effaced by time.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 126.—A portion of the pedestal of a statue with only the feet remaining on it, and wearing sandals. On the front of the pedestal there is a group of human figures, and on the sides there is a lotus rosette.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 127.—A beautifully carved head of Buddha, measuring 6½ inches.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 128.—A small, very finely carved head of Buddha, 4" high with a moustache;

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 129.—A small head of Buddha 4". with portion of a halo behind it. Nose damaged.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 130.—The figure of a man with a nimbus, but without the lower portion of the legs and the hands. It is probably intended for Prince Siddhattha. The hair falls in long locks over the shoulders, but it is tied in a great loose knot above the forehead, the head being bound with a beaded fillet. The neck ornaments are a broad jewelled torque and a heavy chain. The right shoulder is bare, and also the greater part of the upper half of the body.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 131. *a—b*.—A figure of Prince Siddhattha in alto-relievo wanting the lower portion of the legs. It measures 15" high.

The clothing is much the same as in the last figure. Half of an umbrella, 131*b*, has been placed over the head of this figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 132.—A figure of Prince Siddhattha, 26·20" high, represented standing on a lotus throne. The hair is dressed in the usual fashion found in these figures of the prince. The ornaments consist of large earrings, an elaborate torque, and a necklace with a front clasp of two small seated human figures. The cord-like chain to which many little charms are attached is so long that two folds of it hang across the chest, while one is placed below the right shoulder. There is an ornate armlet, and all the body, except the right arm and shoulder, is thickly draped, and on the feet are sandals.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 133.—The facial portion of the head of a prince, measuring about 7 inches in length. The eyes are almond-shaped and heavy, the mouth small and well formed, and with a small pointed moustache. The nose is imperfect. The hair is bound with a beaded fillet, and, as is frequently seen in Grecian statues of Diana and of other goddesses, it is tied in a cross-knot over the top of the head.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 134.—An erect figure of a prince in alto-relievo, 2' 9·50" in height, standing on a pedestal 5" high and with a plain nimbus behind the head. This statuette is also probably a representation of Prince Siddhattha. The expression is benign, and has been well rendered, but unfortunately the nose is broken. The face is shaven, with the exception of the moustache, which is trimmed to a point along the cheeks. The features are almost as fine as those of a woman. The chin is large and well formed. The eyebrows are arched, but the eyelids are drooping. The head-dress is very elaborate, and its leading feature is a convex ribbed, almost circular,

ornament in front, about 3·75" broad and 2·50" high, with a winged kneeling human figure on it having a rich head-dress and huge moustaches like those which adorn the savage visages of some Chinese deities, and in its hands it holds some object. This little image rests on a small dais, below which is a sphere immediately over the forehead, marked by triangular depressions and forming part of an intricate ornament encircling the temples, with two crocodilian heads on either side of it. The border of this princely head-dress is a cord-like band with a fillet below it, and its top consists of variously shaped ornaments. There are no earrings, but a broad torque embraces the neck, and a heavy chain-like necklace ends below in two saurian heads. A *tawiz* is worn over the left shoulder.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 135.—An erect figure of Prince Siddhattha, 2' 8·50" high, with much the same expression, and with garments similar to the previous figure, *viz.*, loose pyjamas and a chaddar. The arms are wanting. The ornaments around the neck resemble those of G. 134. The head-dress, however, is simple and bound with a beaded fillet.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 136.—A human head, 4·50" high, the hair done up in elaborate small curls gathered into a top-knot, but long behind the ears.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 137.—A head probably of Māyā in alto-relievo, 6" high from the chin to the top-knot; the hair bound with a beaded fillet.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 138.—An erect figure of Prince Siddhattha, 30·50" × 10·50" in height, standing on a pedestal, the front of which has a bas-relief of a seated Buddha with two attendants. The hair is tied up in a top-knot, but long locks fall over the

shoulders. The ornaments and dress are much the same as in the previous figures.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 139.—A small human head, 5·45" from the chin to the top-knot. The chief peculiarity is the way in which the hair is represented, as it is done up in a mass of small curls which encircle the face and have more the appearance of a wig than of natural hair, recalling the hair-dressing of the ancient Assyrians.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 140.—A seated human figure with a halo behind the head, total height 22·50". The features are short and Tartar-like, and the eyelids very drooping. The ornaments and dress are princely, but the attitude is that of Buddha when seated in meditation—the legs drawn up and crossed, the soles of the feet upturned, and one hand placed on the upturned palm of the other. In this statue, a flower-bud hangs down from the hands. The head is encircled by two-jewelled fillets, and the hair is tied in a cross-knot, but two long tresses hang down behind the ears. The dress and neck ornaments are the same as in other princely figures, and the right shoulder is bare. The throne on which the figure sits has the side pillars with clawed capitals. In front of it, there is some drapery, over which two small figures in relief are represented worshipping probably some relic.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 141.—The head of the statue of a man, measuring 6·65" from the chin to the top-knot, resembling some of the foregoing heads.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 142.—A seated royal figure in the attitude of teaching, measuring 20·25" in height. The elaborate head-dress and other ornaments are the same as in the preceding sculptures.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 143.—A head of a figure of Prince Siddhattha, 8·85" high. A large circular ornament occurs in front of the head, somewhat resembling a Buddhist wheel of the law, but with many rays, and a projecting lion's head in its centre, from which hang four strings of pearls. The hair is bound by a fillet, which is divided into a number of strings passing backwards over the head, the interspaces between them being filled up, doubtless with precious stones, and also with figures of animals. The two halves of the fillet meet under the central ornament in a large oval gem, on each side of which is another gem from which the five bands of the fillet radiate backwards.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 144.—A male human head, 7·25" high, with moustaches, and, as in nearly all these figures, a *tika* mark on the forehead.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 145 a—b.—An erect, badly proportioned figure of Buddha, 14·50" high, standing on a pedestal, 3" in height, and with a glory behind the head. A small umbrella, *145b*, has been placed over the figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 146.—The corner of two friezes forming two pilasters with Indo-Corinthian capitals, and the same as *G. 122* of this series of sculptures.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 147.—Fragment of the throne of a seated human figure: with the left leg of the statuette attached to it. A little booted figure has stood at one angle of the footstool on which the left foot rests, the front of the stool having been covered with bas-reliefs of children.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 148.—A well-executed figure of Buddha seated on a throne and a nimbus behind the head. The statue measures 1' 5½" high. The face is remarkable for its pleasant expression and well-cut features. The hair is in small curls.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 149.—The figure of a prince, 1' 5·75" high. The sides of the throne are supported by lions. It is seated in the usual cross-legged fashion, and from the left hand a pear-shaped object hangs down, as in *G. 140*. The hair is arranged in strongly pronounced small curls around the forehead, and falls in long locks behind the ears, in each of which there is a curious sphinx-like ornament. There is a nimbus behind the head.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 150.—The figure of a prince standing on a throne; total height of the sculpture 1' 7". There is a glory behind the head. The feet have sandals secured by a knob between the great and second toe.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 151.—A frieze measuring 2' 4·25" in length and 5·25" in height; children carrying a garland.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 152.—A portion of a frieze like the preceding, 1' 4·75" × 5·50".

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 153.—A fragment 14·75" × 6·75", probably portion of a chapel. It consists of part of a seated figure of Buddha, with three shaven monks sitting at his left side, and small tables in front of them with food; the monks being represented eating out of their alms-bowls.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 154.—The nearly perfect Indo-Corinthian capital of a pilaster measuring 11·25" across.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 155.—The capital of an Indo-Corinthian pilaster measuring 23" in breadth.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 156.—The anterior half of an elephant 6" high, with a

floral wreath across its forehead, and a mahout on its back. The trunk broken; both rider and elephant being imperfect.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 157.—Another elephant like the last sculpture.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 158.—The Indo-Corinthian capital of a pilaster with a seated Buddha, attended by a figure on each side among the floral ornament¹.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 159.—A small corner pilaster with two faces, 5·80". It is the miniature, *G. 122*, of this series.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 160.—Another pilaster like the preceding, but more richly carved, and with figures in relief.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 161.—The capital of a pilaster 21" across.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 162—4.—Three fragments of Indo-Corinthian pilasters.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 165.—The anterior half of an elephant with rich trappings and with a bunch of flowers in his trunk. These elephants were placed over the angles of capitals, as is shown on a restoration, *G. 176a*, of a pillar outside the case.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 166.—A bas-relief, being portion of a frieze, 1'9·50" × 4·50". It is of the prevalent type, *viz.*, Buddha surrounded by his followers, both standing and seated, making offerings.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 167.—Fragment of a frieze, 5" × 6·25", representing the worship of Buddha's alms-bowl, which rests on a cushioned and draped pedestal, over which is an umbrella.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

¹ Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. V, Pl. XLIX, No. 4.

G. 168.—Portion of a frieze, 6·50" × 5". It appears to be the beginning of a scene, and probably represents the same incident as that so beautifully carved in *G. 34* of this series. In front of two female figures, standing in a reverential attitude with opposed hands, a dog on a table is barking at some person in front of it, but the figure has been lost. The pilaster, closing in the scene to the right, is Indo-Corinthian, with a child on one of its faces and a panel on the other.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 169.—Fragment of an umbrella.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 170.—Three small slabs¹, each with a seated figure of Buddha carved on the inner surface of each, the other surfaces being rough and undressed. They were found at Kharkai, and General Cunningham states that they are three of the sides of a chamber or cell for the reception of a relic casket. The stones are ground so as to fit together accurately, and he has pointed out that "They are also marked with four Arian letters, *a* and *r* on one, *a* on the second, and *de* on the third. It is scarcely possible that these can have been mason's marks required for the proper fitting of the few places of such a simple construction. I think it much more probable that they were intended to record the name of the king or holy man whose relics were enshrined in the receptacle. They may be read as *Ara-de (va)*, the common form of *Arya Deva*, which would be the name of some famous saint, as *Arya*, 'the venerable' or 'the reverend,' was a title of great respect which was given only to the most eminent members of the Buddhist priesthood. Now, *Arya Deva* was one of the most prominent disciples of Nārgājuna, and a well-known leader of the Buddhist church. He was also one of the propagators of the Mādhyamika doctrines of his Master. As a disciple of Nāgārjuna, his date cannot be placed later than the beginning of the Christian

¹ Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 54, Pl. XII, figs. 1—4.

era. As this date accords with that which may be assigned to all the principal Buddhist remains in the Yuzufzai District, it seems highly probable that the relic receptacle found at Kharkai must have contained some relics of this famous teacher. The same date is assigned to him by Târanath and the Tibetan authorities, who make him not only the contemporary of Kanishka, but also the converter of that monarch to Buddhism. The enshrinement of his relics at Kharkai is thus satisfactorily accounted for by his intimate connection with Kanishka and the countries to the west of the Indus."

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 171.—A fragment, 5.25" × 8", being a bas-relief representing a man feeding a fire altar with oil from a vessel either held in long-handled pincers, or fitted into a piece of wood. The head of the figure appears to have a cloth thrown over it hiding the features, and reaching to the loins.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 172.—Portion of a frieze, 1' 4.50" long and 5" high. To the right, a small human figure stands in a doorway with bent head and clasped hands, and, to the left, is a scene into which nine figures enter, only one of them being a woman. Five out of the nine are represented with glories behind their heads, which is exceptional, as the nimbus is usually confined to figures of Buddha. The third from the right is a prince, in the same attitude as the figure in the doorway, and behind him is an attendant carrying some object. Kneeling on one knee before the prince, but with his back to him, is another man, with a man and woman in the background; while, to the left of them, another figure is standing before Buddha. The scene probably represents the return of the teacher to his father's palace. Behind Buddha stands Devadatta and another man, the former club in hand before a tree, and with his back to the Master.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 173.—A fragment of a frieze, 11·75" × 5", consisting of two scenes: the one to the right is laid outside a city wall, the battlements of which appear in the background, and the other to the right is represented either under a pavilion or in a house. In front, Buddha stands with bearded Devadatta at his side, surrounded by some of his followers, among whom are some shaven priests. In the second scene, the teacher is seated on a dais, with some shaven monks on either side of him. All are engaged in eating out of their alms-bowls, a small table with food being in front of each figure.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 174.—A fragment measuring 10·15" × 4·75". Buddha occupies the centre of a group of thirteen persons. He stands with upraised right hand, while a man is kneeling and laying hold of the feet of the Blessed One and touching the ground with his forehead. Among the group is a shaven priest, and to the left a woman carrying a water-vessel under her arm. A pilaster on the right, with two figures of dancing children ends the scene.

G. 175.—Portion of a frieze, 1' 5·5" in length and 5·75" high, containing two seated figures separated by an Indo-Corinthian pilaster, each adored by attendant figures.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

Outside the Cases.

G. 176a.—A restoration of a pillar¹, consisting of two elephants on the top of the capital, which is thoroughly Indo-Corinthian, and consists of three pieces. A portion of the base is also in original, but the shaft is not so. Height about 6' 3" from Jamāl-garhi.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

G. 177.—On the right-hand side of the entrance to the next gallery, called the 'Gupta,' the capital of a large

pilaster has been placed in position. It is a very fine example of the Indo-Corinthian style of architectural ornament, and merits attention¹. On the angles of the abacus, a curious winged centaur-like monster occurs, with the middle of the body attenuated almost to a thread, as in some wasps.

From Jamāl-garhi. Presented by the Archæological Survey of India.

Hazara.

The head H1 of a small human female figure and part of the foot H2, found on the borders of the Hazara² country between the villages of Dheree Shahan and Oosman Khatur. When discovered the fragments still retained some of the gold with which the figure had originally been gilt.

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by G. D. Westropp, Esq., Rawul Pindee, 1st May 1861.

Peshāwar.

The originals of the two following sculptures were found in the Northern District of the Punjab by Lord Napier of Magdala³, and the replicas here exhibited were made in China clay by Mrs. Raleigh. They have been fully described and also figured by Mr. W. Jackson.—⁴

P. 1.—Is the head of a youth, 5·75". The hair is in long flowing curls behind the ears and is bound with a fillet, from the front of which a small piece of cloth passes backwards and covers the top of the head, leaving the sides bare.

P. 2.—A head, probably of Buddha, of the same character as those of the preceding statues from Jamāl-garhi.

These two heads were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mrs. Raleigh, December 1854.

¹ Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. V, Pl. L.

² Proceedings Asiatic Society, Bengal, May 1861, p. 174.

³ Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXI, p. 634.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 511, Pls. XIX and XX.

The following heads in stucco are stated ¹ to have been obtained near Peshāwar, but no further information has been recorded regarding their discovery:—

P. 4.—a.d.—Four shaven heads in stucco, probably belonging to figures of monks. These four heads are of different sizes, and the Honorable J. B. (now Sir J. B.) Phear² remarked some years ago—"They still retained their original sharpness of definition and were singularly well preserved. Obviously they had been attached to masonry, and no doubt formed part of a subject worked out in high relief upon the frieze of some building. It was also remarkable that every one of them was unsymmetrical, *i.e.*, compressed or flattened either on the right side or on the left side. The purpose of this must have been to adapt them to being seen with the greater artistic effect from a particular point of view: and it indicated considerable advance in knowledge of the peculiar conditions necessary for the success of sculptural ornament." One of these heads differs from all the others in having the mouth opened, and the eyebrows drawn upwards as if in astonishment.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 5.—The upper portion of a small figure with a similarly shaven head. The right shoulder is bared, and the hands hold some object between them in front of the chest.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, 6th July 1870.

P. 6.—Another fragment without a head.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, 6th July 1870.

P. 7.—A small head with the nose and mouth injured and of the same general character as the former, but only one long spiral curl on the top of the head, directed forwards to the middle of the forehead, the hinder half of the head having a cloth or hood drawn over it.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, 6th July 1870.

¹ Proceedings Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1870, p. 217.

² *Ibid*, p. 217.

P. 8.—Another head, probably that of a woman, with the hair in short ringlets all round the forehead, and drawn on the side of the face, covering the greater part of the ears; the hair on the sides of the head being smooth, but the top of the head covered by a scroll of hair passing from before backwards.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, 6th July 1870.

P. 9.—Another and larger head with similar ringlets, but the head bound with a fillet, the hair being tied into a large bow on the top of the head, the ends falling down on each side. In the lobes of the ear there are massive rings. The features are essentially Grecian, and the expression is admirably given.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, 6th July 1870.

P. 10.—A smaller head, evidently that of a boy, the hair being gathered into heavy well-separated locks falling over the forehead and side of the head. The top-knot has been broken off.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 11.—A head, with the hair tied on the *vertex* in a cross-loop, and heavy locks falling over the forehead.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 12.—A head of Buddha.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 13.—Another head with an elaborate covering consisting of a fillet-like band, with two other bands directed backwards, one on either side, half-way between the fillet and the *vertex*, and secured to the former in front, by a large disk, the interspace between them and the fillet being filled up probably with cloth. The top ornament has been broken off. The features are well sculptured, the eyes are large and heavy, the nose rather sharp and prominent, but the mouth is sensual.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 14.—Another head with a similar head-dress, but with a large arched shell-like ornament in front, with a peculiar ornament overlying its middle. The features are much the

same as in the previous head. The earrings are huge.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 15.—Another smaller but somewhat similar head and also head-dress, but the two bands instead of running from before backwards are both turned to the right side, while a large rosette occupies the left side of the head.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 16.—Another larger head with flowing curls.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 17.—A gurgoyle of small size, somewhat resembling the head of a bull dog.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 18.—A portion of a chapel, 1·3' × 1', consisting of an arch, underneath which is a seated Buddha with a nimbus behind his head. On his right is a small figure, probably intended to represent Devadatta with his club, while on his left hand is a seated figure with clasped hands looking at an object lying on his knee, and to which Buddha's attention is also directed.

Presented by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, July 1870.

P. 19.—A piece of the stucco of which the heads are made. They are coated with a thin layer of calcareous tufa like some of the Yuzufzai sculptures.

The foregoing heads manifest the most unmistakable evidences of the influence of Greek art, not only in their characters taken as a whole, but more specially in the way the hair is treated in some of them, and which from the exact correspondence of its details to the heads of certain Greek sculptures, sanctions the conclusion that the influence must have been of a very direct character indeed.

The head of Buddha, *P. 12*, is of particular interest, as the hair is most elaborately braided into parallel plaits running backwards from the forehead, some of them converging to a top-knot, and others passing beyond it. This style of

hair-dressing was much in vogue during the time of the Antonines, and in the British Museum¹ there is an ancient marble of the head of a female child in which the hair is represented as in the head of Buddha from Peshāwar. In the same collection, a bust of the Empress Otacilia Severa, the wife of Philip the Elder, has much the same form of head-dress, but there is an upwardly turned plait taking the place of the top-knot². The same form also occurs in a female figure on two Roman altars in the same collection; and on a sarcophagus, in the Cathedral at Agrigentum,³ used as a baptismal font, three of the female attendants of the principal figure, on an end of the sarcophagus, have their hair plaited in the foregoing manner.

In the same way the hair-dressing of *P. 9* finds nearly its equivalent in a marble from Rome, also in the same collection, representing a bearded Bacchus⁴ and the head of Libera joined back to back, but it differs from that sculpture in having a top-knot, which, however, is thoroughly Grecian and is not unfrequent in statues of Diana and Venus. This form of top-knot occurs in *P. 11*. The head *P. 8* in its prominent roll or plaits of hair extending backwards, from over the middle of the forehead to the occiput, is exactly resembled by some ancient figures of Cupid⁵ from Rome, which were probably copied from the famous statue of that deity by Praxiteles.

Kabul.

K. 1.—A circular sculpture 15·50" in diameter. It represents Buddha seated, carved in relief, the flat slab

¹ "Ancient Marbles," Part X, Pl. XVIII, fig 1.

² *Ibid*, Part II, Pl. XIV.

³ *Ibid*, Part IX, Pl. XXVII.

⁴ *Ibid*, Part II, Pl. XVII.

⁵ *Ibid*, Part X, Pl. XXI, and Part XI, Pl. XXXVI.

surrounding the figure having other small human figures in relief near its margins. Buddha is in the usual attitude of meditation, and the features, the draping of the figure, and its general execution are the same as those which distinguish the Yuzufzai sculptures. On each shoulder, flames are represented proceeding from them evidently intended to represent what is recorded to have frequently happened in the life of Buddha when he sat in meditation, *viz.*, that his body shone with a light equal to the sun. On each side of him, a small erect figure of Buddha is sculptured in relief against a conventional slab as a background, with some smaller subordinate figures on it, while on either side of his head there is a celestial figure, each with an umbrella, the straight stem of which is held in the right hand. This sculpture was dug out of ruins 2 miles S. E. of the city of Kābul. The following¹ is an account of the circumstance of its discovery by Munshi Mohun Lal, who accompanied Dr. Gerard:—

The sculpture was discovered in November of 1833, in the course of some general excavations. The Munshi relates that in excavating "the diggers were checked by a close work of lime structure. We told them to break through it, and after digging seven paces further, they opened in a large and beautiful roofed square; it must have remained long in such a state of preservation that one might suppose that it was freshly plastered with lime. The cell was handsomely gilt and coloured by lapis lazuli, which is found in considerable quantities in the mines of Badakhshān, 12 days' journey from Kābul. Such was the situation of the place where we found the stone image lying on the ground."

Presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. J. G. Gerard, 6th August 1834.

¹ Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. III, p. 362, Pl. XXVI, fig. 1.

Buddha Gaya.

E. G. 1.—To the left of the entrance to the 'Gupta Gallery' there is a seated figure of Buddha, in sandstone, in the attitude of meditation. The nose is defaced and the arms are broken off, also the nimbus behind the head. It measures 3' 11" high. An inscription occurs on the front of the flat slab or throne on which the figure is seated.

Presented by the Archæological Survey of India, 4th July 1882.

Miscellaneous.

Misc. 1.—A fragment of a bas-relief, 10" x 9". A black buck is reclining on a rock to the right, and close beside it are two human figures, probably Rishis, descending from the air. The heads are lost, but one of them seems to have had a nimbus behind it. Some other much effaced human figures appear to have been in the foreground. The history of this specimen is unknown, but the material out of which it is carved resembles the slate of the Yuzufzai sculptures.

APPENDIX A.

In the text, I have followed General Cunningham and Dr. Hoernle in describing as men the human figures that are represented on the sides of the Bodhi trees strewing flowers from bowls and baskets on the altars in front of the trees, and those also that stand with two fingers applied to their mouths and holding scarves. Professor Beal, however, in remarking¹ on Dr. Hoernle's 'Readings from the Bharhut Stūpa,' observes that "if one read carefully any of the many lives of Buddha, he will see that "the two persons who stand by the side of the tree, and whom bad perspective has apparently placed in the air" (p. 256) are Dēvas worshipping the Tree, (or Buddha symbolized by the Tree) in common with the human beings below. It seems to escape the memory of many persons that Buddha was the Saviour of gods as well as men. Then, they are not "eating the berries of the Tree," but whistling with the thumb and first finger in harmony with the celestial choir. This whistling with the thumb and finger is repeatedly mentioned as a mode of praise in the Lives of Buddha (e. g. in the *Romantic Legend*).

'Then, when Dr. Hoernle speaks of the Dēvas scattering the berries of the tree from baskets, (p. 256, n. 3), he overlooks the constant assertion that Suddhavaṛa and other Dēvas poured down sandal-wood dust and other perfumes on the seat where Buddha attained wisdom (*Romantic Legend*, pages 67, 225, 227). The ornaments or ornamental marks on the thrones in all the plates of the *Bharhut Stūpa* represent the flowers and perfumes rained down from heaven.

'Then again (p. 256), he speaks of "two persons" knocking off berries with their scarves; but they are only waving them in the air, as we might wave our handkerchiefs in token of joy or triumph. In the *Sutta Nipāta* by Fausböll (*Sacred Books*, Vol. X, p. 125, § 679, 680) is an expression which illustrates this waving of their garments by the Dēvas

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, No. CXXIX, p. 49.

APPENDIX B.

"Note on Pl. XXVIII, fig. 1, of Mr. Fergusson's *"Tree and Serpent Worship,"* 2nd Edition. By S. Beal, Professor of Chinese, London University'.

"I beg leave to call attention to a very curious result, drawn from a comparison of the two versions, viz. that the Vaggi or Vaggians of Vesâli are the same as the Yue-chi of the Chinese.

"If my version be referred to, it will be seen that I was at a loss how to restore the Chinese symbols used in the narrative, viz. Yue-chi; I put the word Getæ in form of a query, in the first instance, but afterwards used the expression as I found it, viz. Yue-chi.

"But from Mr. Davids' translation it is made plain that the Chinese symbols are here equivalent to Vaggi or Vaggians. Seeing this, I was led to look further, and to my surprise I found that M. Léon Feer, in his edition of the *"Sûtra of 42 Articles,"* page 47, had already identified the Yue-chi of the Chinese with the Vriggis of India. He does so, indeed, by way of query, but, undoubtedly, his restoration is a right one. In my version of the Sûtra I had adopted the usual equivalent *"Getæ"* for Ta-yue-chi, and, although I do not think that the Ta-yue-chi must necessarily be the same as the Yue-chi, yet certainly the last combination is properly restorable to Vriggi or Vaggi.

This led me to seek further, and I found from various quarters that the Vaggi, or the Samvaggi, or combined Vaggians, must have been Scythians.

General Cunningham, in his *"Ancient Geography of India,"* p. 447, observes that "in the time of Buddha the Vregis or Waggis were divided into several clans, as the Lichhavis, the Vardehis, and the Tirabhuktis. The exact number of their clans would appear to have been eight, as criminals were

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, New series, Vol. XIV, p. 39.

arranged before the eight clans, or a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe." They are called by the people of the North the Samvaggis or "united Vaggis."

"But, regarding the Vaggi and the Lichhavi as the same people, we are told by Mr. Hodgson that the Litsavi, or in Tibetan Litsabyis, are the so-called Scyths ("Collected Essays," p. 17, Trübner's edition).

"And M. Foucaux, "Lalita Vistara," page 137, identifies the Litsabyis with the Vaggians of Vesâli.

"Now one of the chief incidents in the history of the Vaggians of Vesâli, as it is narrated in the Parinibbâna Sutta, and in the Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha in Chinese, is the earnestness with which they contended for a portion of the relics of Buddha's body after its cremation, over which they desired to erect a Stûpa.

"And we are also told how, when they had obtained their share of the relics, they raised a Tchaitya, and instituted a grand fête in honour of the occasion.

"It occurred to me that the scene depicted, Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 1, "Tree and Serpent Worship," referred to the feast of this dedication. It was necessary, however, to connect this scene with Vesâli. I was agreeably surprised to find that the scene immediately underneath the Chaitya feast was one certainly connected with Vesâli. It is the scene at the Monkey Tank in that place, where the two monkeys offered a pot of honey to Buddha. It is related in Julien ii. 387—"A little distance," he says, "to the west of the Monkey Tank is a Stûpa. Here the monkeys, taking Buddha's alms dish, climbed a tree and filled it with honey." The scene on the pillar must refer to this.

But, again, taking the scene below this, we see, first of all, that it relates to the place where Buddha *stopped* (denoted by the flat stone), followed by men and by *Kinnaras*. The figures in the scene before us point to this.

"But, again, the connected scene of the Deva standing in a position of communication (*ekamantam*) with Buddha, in all probability represents Mâra advancing towards Buddha, and addressing to him this prayer, "Now is the time to enter on the bliss of Nirvâna." The story is well told, both in the Pari-

nibbāna and by Asvaghosha. We recognize Māra in this scene by the presence of his three or four daughters, who are always associated with him, and especially in the temptation scene, of which this is but the complement. Now these identifications connect the entire group here depicted with Vesālî.

"The dedication of the Tope, then, we argue, is the festival held by the Vaggi at Vesālî. If so, we have in this a satisfactory explanation of the dress and general appearance of the actors in the scene; they were Scythians. And their appearance fully bears this out. Mr. Fergusson was so impressed with it, that he describes this scene as the most interesting of all the Sanchi sculptures."

"The fact of these Samvaggi, or combined Scythians, being settled at this early time in the Ganges valley, is an important ethnographical item in our knowledge. We see why the shape of this tope differs from the others, and approaches that of the Kâbul type, and we can also understand how the influence of these Northern tribes, after their conversion to Buddhism, would cause the spread of the doctrine they professed among their fellow-countrymen in the Kâbul valley, and thus account for the strong hold Buddhism took on the Northern tribes at a very early date.

"I think it also goes to confirm the idea that the Sākya, to whom Buddha himself belonged, were a Turanian tribe, and in sympathy with these Vaggi, whom Buddha resembles in so many personal distinctions.

"The Identification of the Sculptured Tope at Sanchi. By William Simpson."

"The Sculptured Tope in plate XXVIII. fig. 1, of *Tree and Serpent Worship* suggested, from its height, to Mr. Fergusson, that it was formed after the Afghanistan models. He also hinted the possibility of the figures, who are performing *pujah* round it, being a race from the North, and perhaps from the Kâbul Valley. The Revd. Mr. Beal has just added some most interesting evidences which tend to confirm the original suggestion-

¹ Journ. Royal As. Soc., New Series, Vol. XIV, p. 332 Plate.

As the point is of great importance in many ways, the following additional evidence may be worth giving :—

“In the early part of 1879, when General Sir Samuel Browne's column was at Jellalabad, Mr. Jenkyns, who afterwards lost his life in the massacre at Kâbul, somehow picked up a man from Kaffiristan. He had been born a Kaffir, but had been caught by the Mahomedans, and converted,—such persons are called “Nimchas.” He lived somewhere close to the borders of Kaffiristan, and Mr. Jenkyns commissioned him to return to his own district and bring back a couple of pure unconverted Kaffirs. Mr. Jenkyns' object in this was to study their language, and learn as much as he could as to their customs and other matters. The man promised to do this, and he was to bring them to Peshawer, or wherever Mr. Jenkyns was quartered. I went by appointment to make a sketch of this man, and I noticed that he did not leave his shoes on the outside of the tent-door; he doubled his legs under him, but after a little I noticed that his shoes were pieces of leather tied about his feet, and bound by thongs round the ankles. This explains why the “*jooti dustoor*” does not exist in Kaffiristan. Colonel Tanner, who was then on the Survey Department, caught some Chugunis, who belonged to the Northern slopes of the Ram Koond; this tribe is Mahomedan, but their district is not far from Kaffiristan. I have a sketch of one of them, and the thongs of his leather shoes are also wound round his legs above the ankle. This arrangement is very similar to what is represented in the Sculpture at Sanchi. If we assume that this mode of tying the shoes is a continuation of the old method which has remained in the regions about Kaffiristan, it forms a strong confirmation of Mr. Fergusson's original theory. That old types do remain in this out-of-the-way region we have evidence in the peculiar dagger which the Nimcha as well as the Chugunis carried; this was identical with one found on a piece of Buddhist sculpture discovered at Hada,—the Hidda, or Hilo, of Hiouen-Thsang. It is quite distinct in its form from the *Charra* or knife of the modern Afghan.

“The evidence that wearing bandages round the legs was a common custom of the Northern Himalayas does not end here. When in Kashmir, I made sketches of two musicians belonging to the Maharaja's Balti-ke-pultan, and they are cross-gartered

from the ankles to the knees in blue and yellow, in a style which Malvolio would have delighted in.

"I have still another illustration to give of wearing bandages round the legs in the trans-Indus region. In making my preparations for following the operations in the late Afghan War, I did what I found others doing, and I bought for myself, as well as for each of my servants, long stripes of woollen cloth, "putties," I think they were called; these were wound round the legs from the ankle to the knee. I understood it was an Afghan custom, for the cold weather. This peculiar kind of legging will be seen in some of my sketches sent to the *Illustrated London News* at the time. As such articles of costume were unknown to the plains of Hindoostan at any period, they form a strong probability in favour of the figures in the Sanchi Sculpture being men from a Northern and a cold climate. All these examples of leggings apply also to the Yavana warrior, sculptured in the Rani-ka-Nur cave at Katak.

"It may be worth mentioning here that the Russian soldiers wear, as a substitute for stockings, a piece of cloth wound round the feet and ankles. I speak of this from dead bodies I saw on the battlefield of Inkerman, where not one of them had stockings under their boots. As the Russians are closely connected with the Turanians of Central Asia, it is possible we have here a hint as to the ethnic origin of this custom.

"Most of the figures in the Sanchi sculpture wear a fillet round their heads, with the ends hanging down behind. An inspection of the old coins found in Afghanistan will show that this was another peculiarity of that region in the Buddhist period. The Sanchi figures have a cloak, fixed on the breast, and thrown over the shoulders, and hanging down behind, leaving the arms clear. A costume of this kind, worn in the same fashion, is a marked feature of the figures on the Indo-Scythian coins. Bandages on the legs are also indicated on some of these coins.

"In the left-hand corner of the Sanchi sculpture there are two men blowing horns of a long ogee form. These horns terminate like a drooping flower, but they are more probably intended for serpents' heads. Instruments of the same ogee form, but without the peculiar termination, are yet to be found in the region of the Northern Himalaya. I have sketches of these horns made at

Chini, on the Sutlej, where I saw them used at the *pujahs* in that village. The performers held them aloft exactly as represented in the Sanchi Sculpture. Simple pipes or whistles, cut with a knife, such as those on these sculptures, are also common among the shepherds of the Himalaya,—I speak of the region of the Sutlej, where I have often heard their notes echoing through the valleys. A faint recollection clings to my mind, that I one day saw a man playing on two pipes as represented at Sanchi,—I have no sketch, and it is so long ago that I do not feel justified in giving this as evidence to be relied on.

The illustration accompanying this is from a sketch of one of Colonel Tanner's Chuginis, and it is only given to illustrate the thongs round the legs: the other parts of the costume are not remarkable,—the head-dress being the *loongi* worn by all Afghans."

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